

# CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL REVIEW

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2009 • VOLUME 20 • NUMBER 1 • \$4.95

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Carl Olson

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Si Frumkin's Journal

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## MAN-MADE DROUGHT

### ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION ... OR ENVIRO-SOCIALISM?

As 25 million Californians watch their water supply vanish,  
many ask: Has Command and Control gone too far?

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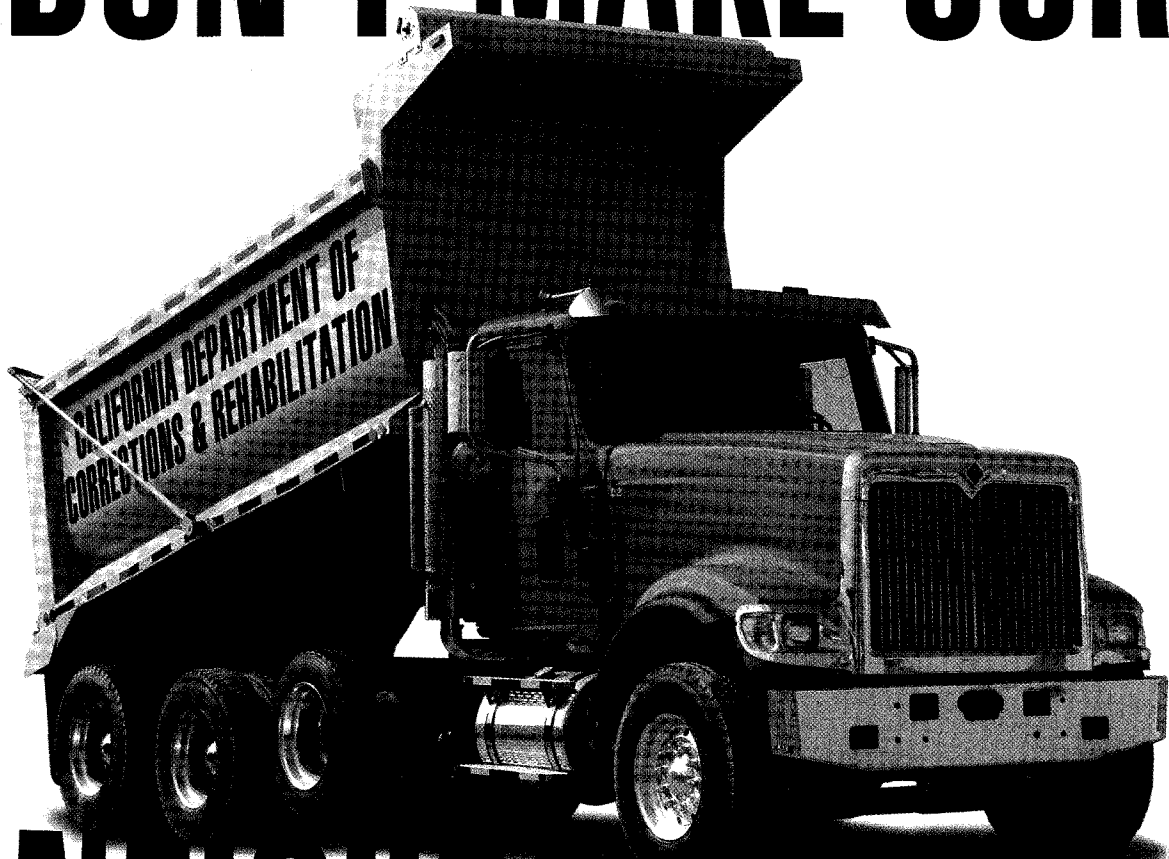
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# NEIGHBORHOODS DUMPING GROUNDS

**The governor and legislature want to slash parole for 53,000 inmates ... dumping them out of prison onto our streets with minimal supervision. No rehabilitation and little accountability.**

They say only "non-serious" and "non-violent" offenders will get this reduced parole — but the list includes criminals convicted of human trafficking, child abuse, stalking, solicitation to commit rape or murder, elder abuse and those convicted of hate crimes.

You dump these people in our neighborhoods without skills or a job, and they'll turn to what they know best, crime — hurting victims and soaking taxpayers for millions in new law enforcement and court costs.

Tell the governor and legislature that some things are more important than saving a buck — like protecting our families. Tell them you oppose reducing parole.

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A P U B L I C A T I O N O F T H E C A L I F O R N I A P U B L I C P O L I C Y F O U N D A T I O N

# CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL REVIEW

A PUBLICATION OF THE  
CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

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*California Political Review* (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly by the California Public Policy Foundation. Send address changes, manuscripts, and Correspondence to: Editor, *California Political Review*, Post Office Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931; or [calprev@cppf.us](mailto:calprev@cppf.us). Correspondence may be condensed due to space limitations. Unsolicited manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Signed articles express their authors' opinions and do not necessarily reflect the views of the California Public Policy Foundation which does not endorse or oppose candidates or intervene in any candidate election campaign. Unsigned editorials express the editors' opinions and not necessarily the views of the California Public Policy Foundation. Rates: \$24.95 yearly (six issues). Outside U.S. add \$6/year surface, \$20 for airmail. *California Political Review* is copyright © 2008 by the California Public Policy Foundation.

*California Political Review* (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly for \$24.95 per year by the California Public Policy Foundation, 24005 Ventura Blvd., Calabasas, CA 91302-1447. Periodical Postage Paid at Calabasas, CA, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *California Political Review*, P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### An envious, disaffected electorate

Regarding your response to Mr. Ferguson of Santa Barbara ("Zeal for the suffering masses," Correspondence, *CPR*, Nov./Dec. 2008), I think you hit on an important point. For various reasons, the left does not *want* solutions that work — they just want them to sound good. They depend on an envious and a disaffected electorate. If their recommendations worked, they would lose the value of both.

While I was a member of the city council, the liberal representatives of minority communities constantly complained that the city staff never worked in their neighborhoods. They could have employed a simple remedy called a "route slip," a document each council member could direct to the city manager for action. After several months of hearing this blarney, I finally led the council majority of Republicans to investigate their claims.

We found that while most of us had issued route slips regarding constituent complaints — amounting to hundreds of them — the perennially complaining council members had issued exactly: Zero.

In other words, they liked the fact that their areas were underserved. It gave them a platform.

Since we were city-wide elected officials in those days, the rest of us started solving *their* problems — and they howled about interfering in their districts.

So, you are right. If cops caught all the crooks, we would not need big police departments.

Larry Stirling  
San Diego

### Crisis in context

Your double-header ("St. Benedict," Whittaker Chambers, "The Decade of the Great Liberal Death Wish," Malcolm

Muggeridge, *CPR*, Nov./Dec. 2008) puts the civilizational crisis represented by the Obama presidency in context. This is bad, but the West has weathered this sort of thing before. We can again.

Jessica Brownfield  
San Bernardino

### Bombarding our readers

In order to help *California Political Review* reduce mailing expenses, I thought you should know that since placing my order for subscription renewal last fall, I have received at least two more requests to renew my subscription.

Linda Pasarella  
Placentia

Thank you for your concern. It would, in fact, be more efficient if *CPR* could get by sending a single notice on renewals. All our experience, however, shows conclusively that a series of notices dramatically increases renewals, and that no way exists to say ahead of time which subscribers will renew after a single or, say, the first two notices. The only way to keep the maximum number of readers on board is to send out lots of notices (along with apologies for any inconvenience they might cause those of you who renew quickly).

One other point: "Standard" U.S. Mail service is low-cost, and the price of saving by using it is that it is also slow. Responses often come back to us more than a month after notices are sent. Waiting more than a month between renewal notices also cuts down on favorable responses, so our follow-ups almost always go out before we see the results of the first notices. Thanks for your patience, and your concern about our costs. Most importantly, though, thank you for reading *California Political Review*.

— editor

CPR

# SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Readers over a certain tender age will remember the TV game show "To Tell The Truth" in which a celebrity and two impostors, all three behind a screen, would answer questions from four panelists, the panelists finally voting on which of the three they believed was "telling the truth." The show ended with host Bud Collyer intoning dramatically "Will the real [celebrity] please stand up."

Capitol observers and legislators, faced with yet another switcheroo by the governor on tax hikes, find themselves similarly sorting through bogus Schwarzeneggers, wondering whether the real governor will ever stand up.

Recall that Schwarzenegger No. 1, re-elected in 2006 by beating Democrat Phil Angelides bloody on tax hikes, was *never* going to raise taxes. Then last fall, Schwarzenegger No. 2 not only *would* raise them, but would do it by majority vote, ignoring the state Constitution, which requires a two-thirds vote for tax hikes.

But Democrat legislators met that bizarre stance with refusals to reduce proposed spending significantly, refusals to eliminate economy-crippling regulation, and passage of bills increasing gas taxes, sales taxes, and the

car tax — largely to add to the pay of California state public employees, already the highest paid in the nation. This, evidently, was too much even for Schwarzenegger 2, so we now see Schwarzenegger 3, arguing, believe it or not, that tax hikes *require* a two-thirds vote.

Despite some GOP relief that, for now at least, the governor has rejoined the constitution camp on the two-thirds question, the residue of all this in-



cludes a profound sense of betrayal among Republicans and anti-tax leaders over the governor's "simple majority" nonsense. That farce was transparently political and hypocritical. The damage was only aggravated by his public defense, turning logic on its head, that the courts should decide the question. He seemed to think merely occupying the "Office of the Governor" was insufficient qualification to decipher the phrase "taxes may only be raised by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature or of the people." English is the governor's second language, but this was still ridiculous.

And the governor's low ratings are not limited to Republicans. In the toney watering spots and chic-chic *soirees* I populate, the prevailing attitude about Schwarzenegger in both parties borders on contempt. Both now see him as having shed any core beliefs he might have clung to. As the saying goes, if you believe in nothing you will fall for anything.

Democrats are livid because they thought they had a deal with the governor, that they had compromised enough for him sign off on majority vote tax increases. Republicans, wary and weary, simply wonder what transformations of policy and position each new day might bring.

And for the first time in this governor's tenure, your *Spectator* clearly detected "Schwarzenegger fatigue" in both parties and at all levels. Folks, tired of his act, can't wait for him to be gone. This might turn out, for both sides, to be a "be careful what you wish for" moment. But almost no one seems intrigued any more about the question which Schwarzenegger is the real deal. Some say all three; some say no real deal exists. And no one waits anxiously to see what happens if the "Will the real Governor Schwarzenegger please stand up?" question is ever asked or answered.

But for me, fashionable salons await, requiring the services of an expert *Spectator* — so I am off, 'til next issue.

— A.P.C.



# The Law

## Is it socialism? Or something worse?

*Democrats seek control over every pond, puddle, and ditch across America.*

M. REED HOPPER

*A great deal of rhetorical energy has been expended, beginning before and continuing after the November election, on the question whether the ideology installed with Democrat control of Congress and the White House might fairly be called "socialist." Considering such Democrat-favored policies as the Pacific Legal Foundation's Mr. Hopper describes in this article, a more to-the-point question might be whether the term "socialist" — which at least implies some respect for rule of law — is in fact strong enough to describe the framework guiding the radical minority in charge of Democrat policy-making. As part of our overall focus on state and federal water regulation policy in this issue of CPR, we include Mr. Hopper's exposition of a congressional effort to overturn a recent landmark Supreme Court decision protecting property rights against bureaucratic over-reach. On the issue of water policy and its legal, political, and economic implications for California and America, see also, in this issue: M. David Stirling's "Man-Made Drought," (page 13) and "California's Upcoming Water Revolt," by Shawn Steel (page 18).*

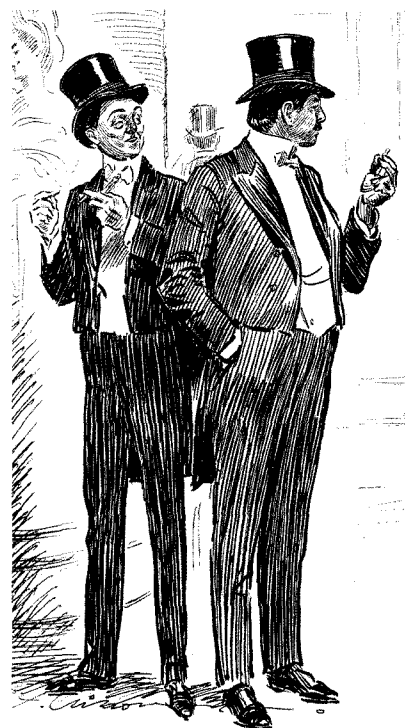
— editor

Since the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark decision in *John Rapanos v. United States* (2006), in which the Supreme Court did its job in limiting federal jurisdiction under the Clean Water Act, "big government" members of Congress and litigious environmentalist groups have breathlessly declared our nation's waters at imminent risk of uncontrolled pollution. Overheated Representatives Henry

*Reed Hopper, a principal attorney with the Pacific Legal Foundation, successfully represented John Rapanos in the U.S. Supreme Court. Pacific Legal Foundation ([www.pacificlegal.org](http://www.pacificlegal.org)) is the nation's oldest and most successful public-interest legal organization dedicated to limited government, protection of property rights, and individual freedom.*

Waxman (D-California) and James Oberstar (D-Minnesota) repeatedly charge that, following *Rapanos*, the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) Clean Water Act enforcement is "faltering" because the agency dropped more than 300 cases on grounds it no longer had jurisdiction. The Environmental Defense Fund has condemned *Rapanos* as "impractical and overreaching" and declared EPA's post-*Rapanos* regulations "ecologically irresponsible" and certain to "put America's waterways and wetlands at risk."

It is inconceivable to these lawmakers and hardcore environmentalists that the EPA had far exceeded its authority by regulating every pond, puddle, and ditch in the nation prior to *Rapanos*. But the High Court was right to set some limits on federal authority and, in fact, limits are required by the Constitution, by state sovereignty, court precedent, the "rule of law," and the Clean Water Act itself. Given the EPA's prior claim that it could regulate virtually all "non-navigable" water bodies in the country (whereas the Clean Water Act only authorizes federal regulation of "navigable" waters), it is



The bureaucrats strike back



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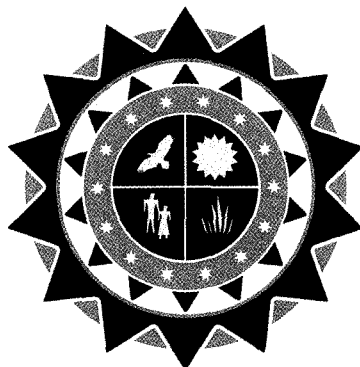
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surprising the agency did not drop *more* cases for lack of jurisdiction after *Rapanos*. Congressmen Waxman and Oberstar, and organizations like the Environmental Defense Fund, are trying to drum up support for proposed legislation called the Clean Water Restoration Act.

**T**HIS PROPOSAL overreaches. It is being sold on the patently false claim that Congress always intended that federal officials should control the use of every wet spot in the country (and much of the dry land too). In the Clean Water Act, Congress expressly recognized “the primary responsibilities and rights of the States” to eliminate pollution and to determine locally the “development and use ... of land and water resources.” The proposed Clean Water Restoration Act goes far beyond Congress’s original intent. It is designed to expand federal authority to an extreme level never seen before in American history. It authorizes federal bureaucrats to

control “all water” in the United States, whether private or public, state or federal. You have a pond or ditch in your backyard? Don’t be surprised if the feds come knockin’.

Waxman and Oberstar want to make the Supreme Court the villain here, but the real offender is heavy-handed federal regulation, which would only increase under the proposed legislation. Even after *Rapanos*, federal officials are still expanding their regulatory reach. For example, they now say the frozen permafrost under a planned children’s park in Fairbanks, Alaska, meets the definition of “navigable waters” under the Act and must be regulated by the federal government. Disproving the charge of “faltering,” EPA continues to impose severe civil and criminal penalties on landowners by declaring the placement of clean dirt on mostly dry land the equivalent of a discharge of a pollutant into “navigable waters.”

If *Rapanos* has finally brought the EPA kicking and screaming to a realization it routinely exceeded its authority in the past, so much the better. We can hope to

## WHAT YOU HAVEN’T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

*Behold, I tell you a mystery. We shall not all sleep.*

— 1 Corinthians, 15:50-52

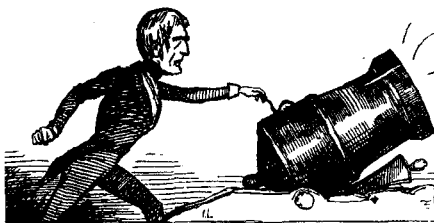
**A**lthough this Scripture reference regards end-times, it is an apt description of today. As a general movement, conservatives lost a lot of ground in the 2008 elections, nationally and here in California. At the federal level, we could be facing a new dark age. Here in California, we can see at least a twinkling of light. How? — you may well ask, while licking the wounds of having lost three Republican seats (net) in the Assembly and barely hanging on to an already meager *status quo* in the Senate. Well, it depends on issues and where we find conservative political strength at the state level.

*Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.*

California defenders of the Second Amendment can see an immediate future that is bright. We did not sleep; we zeroed in on a few elections — races that were really in play. The outcome brought us a split in the Assembly, but we won our most important Senate race, an outcome key to deciding Second Amendment issues in the new Legislature. Here’s why: new laws require 41 Assembly and 21 Senate votes to pass. That makes the magic number 20 senate votes to avoid bad new laws — not 20 votes our way; just 20 *not* going against us. We have 15 Senate Republicans

(with near-perfect gun vote records) plus four Democrats at least sympathetic to the Second Amendment. With fanatically anti-gun Senator Mark Ridley-Thomas gone (he’s an L.A. County Supervisor), his vacant seat means 20 votes are *not* available to the anti-gunners. So anti-gun bills can be stopped in the state Senate.

The key, of course, is participation in elections. Lobbying alone isn’t enough. Doing elections is a lot of work, of course, and is often frustrating, but no substitute for it exists. It demands laser-like focus, dogged attention to detail, some common sense, and usually a little luck. (Hats off, by the way, to Yes on Prop. 8 for *their* victory.) Conservatives too often try to win in Sacramento without first winning in the polling booth. It rarely works.



see more enforcement cases dropped on grounds of questionable jurisdiction. Policing local waters and punishing local polluters is the job of the states, not of

federal bureaucrats acting as a law unto themselves. The proposed Clean Water Restoration Act would be a step in the wrong direction.

CPR



# Bureaucracy Watch

## Why state-maintained 'protections' for investors failed

*Politics serves politics, which is not the same (to put it mildly) as the public interest.*

CARL OLSON

**T**HE BAILOUT FRENZY, caused by politicians contorting the economy to serve their narrow ideologies rather than the broad popular interest, has again proven the futility of relying on government to "protect" us. A related example proving the same point here in California has received little attention. Consider the largely mythological, state-imposed "protections" for investors in publicly-traded companies for which the pols eagerly take bows — until they fail to protect anything. The problem is always the same: politics, not surprisingly, serves politics, which is not the same (to put it mildly) as serving the public interest.

Case in point: the CPA auditors for every one of the financially troubled companies that sparked the bailouts rated their financial statements as just fine. For American International Group (AIG), it was PricewaterhouseCoopers. Lehman Brothers (the largest bankruptcy in American history) had Ernst & Young. Fannie Mae's fiascos were OK'd by Deloitte & Touche. Big Four Auditor KPMG was responsible for Countrywide. And the \$50 billion Madoff Ponzi scheme somehow could not be detected by numerous CPA auditors for its investors.

Is this CPA incompetence? Malfeasance? What has been the loss to the investing public? \$1 trillion? \$2 trillion? How many life savings have been destroyed and private and public pension funds imploded? And

the main point: what have the people to show for having "invested" their trust in government to protect them against exactly these kinds of catastrophes? How has government repaid that trust? Many of the politicians directly involved in setting the stage for the un-

*Carl Olson is chairman of the Fund for Stockowners Rights.*

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natural disaster loudly proclaimed, even up to the end, that no problems were looming, all was well, nothing to be concerned about — probably relying on the same guarantees of financial statements' soundness that fooled the general public.

**I**N CALIFORNIA, the relevant entity is the state Board of Accountancy, charged with the relatively simple job of making sure that financial statements the public relies upon in fact are reliable. I say relatively simple because it isn't as though government had to verify the soundness of the companies themselves, or even of their financial statements, but only that when licensed CPA auditors say a statement is fine, that it, in fact, is so.

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We all know that no one should believe and act on any financial statement of any company without a positive CPA auditor opinion to back it up. We all presume that these opinions are reliable. After all, doesn't the state license all those CPAs and CPA firms? Without a license, they cannot conduct any auditing business. Under this system, state boards of accountancy are, arguably, more important than medical boards. After all, negligent doctors can injure patients only one at a time, while negligent CPA auditors can wipe out the life savings of thousands of people with the stroke of a pen.

California's Board of Accountancy is typically ineffective, underfunded, and dominated by the CPA industry. Its 15 members include seven CPAs and other licensees, all appointed by the governor (who also appoints four of the non-licensee members). The last four non-licensee members are appointed, two each, by the Assembly Speaker and the Senate Rules Committee.

Board funding comes from the annual licensing fees paid into an Accountancy Fund by the state's 76,000 licensed CPAs. That fund is supposed to insure ongoing consumer protection without regard to the state government budget appropriation process, since no tax dollars are involved. However, the governor and Legislature recently borrowed \$11 million from the Accountancy Fund, on top of a still not repaid \$6.27 million borrowed in 2002 and 2003. Without these borrowings the Fund would total about \$31 million. But even with the borrowing, more than enough should remain to cover the Board's annual budget (about \$12 million at current staffing levels) for processing licensees and investigating complaints.

State law requires licensees found to have filed materially false or misleading financial statements to submit "financial re-statements" to the Board. However, until the re-statements are issued and distributed, the public relies upon the original flawed statements. What's troubling is that the 15,000 publicly-traded corporations nationwide have submitted about 1,500 re-statements per year for the last few years, an astounding 10 percent failure rate that is not improving. No wonder CPA malpractice insurance rates consume about 15 percent of CPAs' income.

**H**ow does the Board use the re-statements? You might think they'd be a key quality control measure and would be used immediately in enforcement actions. After all, every one of them is a confession of material error. But California's Accountancy Board decided to require only a narrow selection of the companies

that filed erroneous original statements — about 200 of the 1,500 — even to submit re-statements, though they all impact California investors.

In addition, the Board employs a “check it and chuck it” policy on re-statements, throwing them away after six months rather than maintaining them as public documents for ordinary Californians to use to inform and protect themselves. Past Board President David Swartz (CPA) made the revealing statement at a September 2008 Board meeting that no more than 2 percent of re-statements were “important.” Presumably, he believes the other 98 percent can safely be ignored.

As for enforcement against misbehaving and dangerous licensees, the public is on the losing end of 10,000 to 1 odds: the Board employs just seven investigators to handle all 76,000 licensees. And the state pays investigating CPAs only about \$65,000 per year, while com-

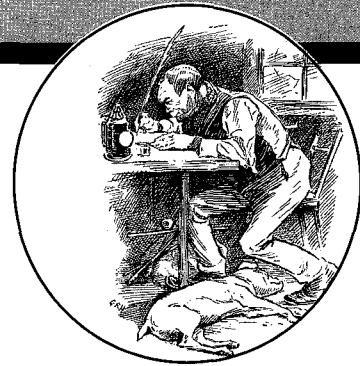
petitive annual pay for experienced CPAs is at least \$125,000, thus making it next to impossible to recruit competent investigators. The Board, its supervising Department of Consumer Affairs, and the governor’s Finance Department have all dragged their feet for years over correcting this defect. And *Capitol Weekly* recently reported current Board President Robert Petersen (CPA) saying “We’ve got all the positions we need.”

Hope for Californians could come from a governor who has changed his mind about the ineffective Board or by a Legislature that takes command of the ongoing travesty. But that would require placing the people’s interests first, and politicians are loathe to do that unless it happens to serve their personal political and/or ideological interests. Who wants to be first to hold his breath waiting for a political hero to appear to save California’s financial health?

CPR

# The Contrarian

## Foolish trade policy torpedoes the GOP



*Massive spending and trade deficits belie the ‘myth’ that America’s economy is fundamentally sound.*

MICHAEL S. FREDENBURG

*In the interest of lively, thoughtful, productive debate — and of keeping conservative thinkers not only on their toes but in touch with their own first principles and bedrock policies — California Political Review introduces “The Contrarian,” an irregularly-published column for writers wishing to express views likely to prove controversial among our readers. CPR encourages responses: affirmations, refutations, and rejoinders. Please submit them, in the form of Letters to the Editor, to [calprev@cppf.us](mailto:calprev@cppf.us), for publication in upcoming issues.*

— editor

**I**F YOU listen regularly to talk radio — conservative talk radio in particular — you know that well into 2008 most mainstream conservative hosts were talking about the United States’ “remarkably robust and resilient economy.” Callers with concerns over growing structural problems with the economy were paid scant attention. After all, with a Republican president and Republicans having controlled Congress for most of President Bush’s two terms, it was uncouth to talk about such things.

One popular late afternoon host explained to his audience that running \$400 billion deficits is okay because \$400 billion is only a small percent of the GDP. Of course the Bush tax cuts were routinely given the credit for the “robust” economy. Loss of manufacturing jobs? Don’t worry, because there is no real loss — it is all due to productivity increases. National debt? What national debt? Trade deficits? What trade deficits? Fi-

*Michael S. Fredenburg is a conservative writer and political activist living in the San Diego area.*

nally, we were continually lectured on how we have to vote Republican no matter how bad the candidates are on important issues or how many times they have stabbed us in the back.

**T**ODAY, WITH the Democrats in firm control and conservatives and the Republican Party teetering on the brink of irrelevance, it is clear the Party needs new leadership acting differently. The *status quo* should be challenged. To do that we must understand how we Republicans helped marginalize ourselves. Perhaps then we can send a message, and advocate public policy based more on reality than on ideologically-driven myths. The purpose of this article is to put some red meat on the table in the hope of stimulating vigorous discussion among Republicans.

One big myth perpetuated by the Republican establishment the last eight years is that the U.S. economy is fundamentally sound. Looking at the economy on a broad basis, it is not encouraging. In 2008, the federal government paid \$412 billion in interest on a national debt swollen to \$10.6 trillion (much of the money held by China). To put this massive interest payment into perspective, the U.S. defense budget for FY 2008 was

\$481 billion. Including unfunded obligations such as Medicare and Social Security yields an even grimmer current debt obligation of \$54 trillion.

Notwithstanding Republican rhetoric to the contrary, it turns out that massive consumer and government deficit spending arguably did more than the Bush tax cuts (beneficial as they were) to fuel the mediocre 2.4 percent annual average growth in GDP from 2000 to 2007. Massive debt-funded spending to build houses for people who could not afford them — pushed by the Bush administration — helped mask lost manufacturing jobs during the same period. Sadly, but not surprisingly, it is predicted that China will supplant the United States as the world's largest manufacturing economy sometime this year.

China thus supplanting the United States is an unhappy reminder of the trade deficits over which the Bush administration presided: cumulatively more than \$3.3 trillion. In contrast, the Clinton years' cumulative trade deficit was "only" \$951 billion. Also, 3.5 million manufacturing jobs were lost between 2000 and 2007. The number one beneficiary, China, was responsible for 2.3 million of them. The American Manufacturing Association reported more than 40,000 factory closures for the last 10 years. And no, that loss of 2.3 million jobs did not result from productivity increases, as some self-serving, flawed studies have claimed.\*

This brings up the thorny but important issue of trade policy. When vigorous Clinton Administration negotiations brought China into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, it was believed membership would help rein in China's history of predatory, unethical trade practices. Unfortunately, China used its membership to accelerate its use of such practices, with the negative impact on the U.S. economy also accelerating since 2001. The agreement's chief negotiator, Robert Cassidy (a 30-year veteran of both Republican and Democrat administrations), now believes admitting China was a serious mistake, as were consequent U.S. moves away from freedom to engage in bilateral trade agreements. The facts support his conclusion.

In 2001, U.S. steel production (91,447 million tons — about 11 percent of the 850,266 million tons produced worldwide) was already surpassed by

\* Many people, including Frank Shostak of the Ludwig Von Mises Institute, persuasively argue that the commonly quoted measure of "productivity" does not really measure real improvement in manufacturing processes, but instead is a measure of "monetary spending adjusted by a meaningless deflator." In other words, the claims of productivity gains are more fantasy than fact.

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China's 150,906 million tons. In 2008, with world steel production of 1,329,719 million tons, Chinese production exploded to 502,010 million tons (nearly 40 percent of the world's production). Meanwhile, U.S. steel (at 91,490 million tons) accounted for just 7 percent of world production. The United States largely met increased U.S. demand for steel with imports from China. Comparative advantage at work? Not really. Besides providing a 40 percent effective subsidy to all its exports through currency manipulation, in 2007 China directly subsidized its steel industry at a \$15.7 billion rate (according to Alliance of American Manufacturing estimates) — a 3800 percent increase since 2001. Not coincidentally, between 2000 and 2006, U.S. workers in the lowest 40 percent of income brackets experienced a 2.5 to 4 percent drop in real wages as a result of failed trade policies compounded by the mass influx of illegal alien workers. Is it any wonder that blue-collar workers — a significant part of the 1980s' Reagan Coalition — now view the GOP as controlled by elites hostile to average workers' interests?

**Y**ET, DESPITE the overwhelming evidence that U.S. trade policy is both a political and economic disaster, suggestions that a change might be in order bring only old, tired rhetoric. For example, in early February, former Delaware Governor Pete Du Pont urged staying the course on trade on a popular morning talk show. I have coined a phrase I believe explains this psychological disconnect from reality: "Free Trade Romanticism." This disorder's foundation is a utopian view of what "free" markets can accomplish both domestically and abroad. Like other utopian-flavored ideological "ism's," good intentions and talking about the "ism" is often enough to satisfy those afflicted.

This romanticized view led the United States to support creation of the World Trade Organization in 1995. We were told that this cumbersome, bureaucratic, internationalist organization of 146 nations that vote on and regulate U.S. trade policy, would bring on an era of Free Trade. With China's admission in 2001, WTO bureaucrats seemed to consider the dream nearly achieved. At the time, WTO Director-General Mike Moore rhapsodized that "With China's membership, the WTO will take a major step towards becoming a truly world organization. The near-universal acceptance of its rules-based system will serve a pivotal role in underpinning global economic cooperation."

But this dream's reality is more like a nightmare. As we've seen, it has brought soaring trade imbalances and, starting in 2002, WTO accusations (carrying billions of dollars in sanctions) that the United States has engaged in "unfair trade practices" because we have

failed to tax corporations at levels equal to those prevailing among European Union countries.

So, some key questions for the GOP as we move into 2009 and the Obama presidency:

Do we really want to pursue trade policies pumping trillions of dollars into the economy of a morally bankrupt, fundamentally evil system of government?

Do we want to continue to fund the massive build-up and modernization of China's military on the back of lost U.S. jobs — a build-up likely to force U.S. taxpayers to spend countless more billions on defense to counter it?

Is it really a good idea to send our neighbors' and fellow citizens' jobs to a country that mistreats its people, savages the environment, and, oh, by the way, whose nuclear missiles target us?

Could any real conservative not afflicted by FTR actually believe the WTO would be a good thing?

Do we really want to continue telling blue collar workers driving pickup trucks with American flags on their bumpers, gun racks in their cabs, and American pride in their hearts that, although voting Republican is voting to destroy their livelihood, they should do it anyway because the Democrats are so wacky?

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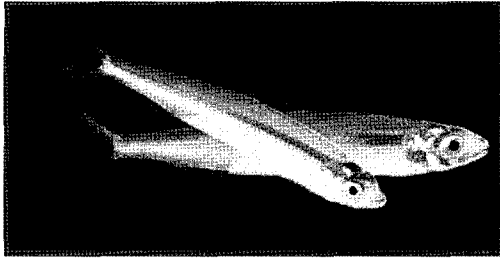
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# MAN-MADE DROUGHT

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION ... OR ENVIRO-SOCIALISM

As 25 million Californians watch their water supply vanish,



Delta Smelt

the first U.S. Supreme Court case testing its scope and authority (*Tennessee Valley Authority v. Hill*, 1978), the Court majority declared that by enacting ESA Congress intended to achieve the preservation of listed species "whatever the cost." While it was curiously troubling for the Supreme Court to view a publicly-funded program like ESA as existing without cost constraints (every government program is limited by its price-tag or impact on people's lives), lower federal courts have come to regard ESA as a "super statute," enabling species preservation to trump human endeavors in nearly all circumstances. Yet, despite 36 years of ESA implementation and enforcement on this extreme basis, with more than 1,350 plant and wildlife species listed for protection, millions of acres of land (much of it privately owned) set aside as species' habitat, with multi-billions of dollars spent or lost in the process — even with all that, the vast majority of Americans, especially those living in urban population centers, know little, if anything, about this powerful statute.

While many relate to endearing images of charismatic species like the grizzly bear, the gray wolf-mom with her pups, and the bald eagle, few understand that ESA has been used to achieve the radical result of placing people's interests below those of a maggot like the Delhi sands flower-loving fly, a bug like the North Valley longhorn elderberry beetle, and a tiny fish like the Delta smelt.

People living, doing business, and owning property in the nation's rural regions, however, have come to know ESA well. Rural Americans know they are social and economic victims of an oppressive "species-first, people-last" statute enforced in a heavy-handed, economically harmful manner by federal bureaucrats and litigious en-

vironmentalist organizations. Many view ESA as a tool for "rural cleansing," to be used to drive rural residents off their land so it can be returned to nature. For example, in 2001, environmentalist organizations filed an ESA-based lawsuit to compel the shut-off of all contract irrigation water to the the Klamath River Basin, an area that straddles the California-Oregon border where farming has been a way of life for 100 years. During Teddy Roosevelt's presidency, the Klamath River Project was created to provide irrigation for agriculture and flood control. It included construction of a network of nearly 700 miles of canals and ditches and 40 pumping stations to distribute water. Homesteaders were lured by the federal government to enter into contracts under which they would pay for, and the federal government would provide, irrigation water in perpetuity. For almost a century irrigation water was delivered without fail, and the passing generations of farmers not only paid for the water they used annually, but also repaid the government for constructing, operating, and maintaining the Klamath River Project's water delivery infrastructure.

In 2001, as the Klamath Basin underwent drought conditions, the environmentalist ESA lawsuit argued that preserving the Lost River sucker fish, the shortnose sucker fish, and coho salmon required that the farmers lose all the water they were expecting. As their crops emerged from the soil in spring, the court, citing *TVA v. Hill*, ordered the government to shut it off abruptly. It marked the first time since the Klamath River Project began that government did not live up to its contractual obligation. Without water, 1,400 farm families watched their crops wither and blow away, and with them their incomes, their seed money for the following year's planting, the value of their farms and land, and their ability to borrow from the banks. The results included numerous bankruptcies, two known suicides by distraught farmers, and many dashed dreams.

The 2001 water shut-off and its dire impact on the Klamath Basin community raised an intriguing question: How would *urban* residents react if a court, to protect fish living in their city's water supply, ruled that ESA required each household be limited to a minimal number of gallons per day? This scenario had not occurred

in an urban population center since ESA became law, although it nearly did so in 2002. At the time, with Albuquerque's 500,000 residents undergoing a sustained drought, several environmentalist groups sued the federal government and the city, claiming that the Rio Grande River's diminished flow was jeopardizing the survival of the ESA-protected silvery minnow. The court ordered federal authorities to tap Albuquerque's separate source of water — a source carefully planned and developed at great tax-payer expense over several decades so that the city could deliver water to its growing population and businesses — even though this would reduce, and if the drought continued, deplete, the city's water supply. Echoing *T.V.A. v.*

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*How would urban residents react if a court, to protect fish living in their city's water supply, ruled that ESA required each household be limited to a minimal number of gallons per day?*

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Hill's "whatever the cost" language, the court stated: "In enacting ESA, Congress required the federal courts to give greater protection to endangered species over human interests." The federal appellate court agreed, declaring that "the government's first duty is to the fish."

As the drought dragged on for several months, New Mexicans feared that the diminishing water supply would become critical, especially for Albuquerque's more vulnerable residents. The situation became so serious that the state's U.S. senator, Pete Domenici, with support from the governor and members of Congress, secured legislation putting Albuquerque's water supply off limits to benefit the minnow. When rains came later that year providing much needed water to both the silvery minnow and the people of Albuquerque, the highly charged debate over who should get the water — people or fish — subsided. But the serious implications of ESA granting the fish higher priority was not lost on the people of New Mexico.

After several months of vigorous public and media discussion on who should have priority to use of the water, the *Albuquerque Journal* commissioned a survey of New Mexicans' opinions of ESA. It asked: "Thinking of recent developments in New Mexico involving the Endangered Species Act, such as efforts to protect the Rio Grande silvery minnow, do you think the act goes too far, does not go far enough, or is working as it should?" 69 percent said the Act goes too far, 15 percent said it was working as it should, and 6 percent said it does not go far enough. This result suggests that when Americans come to see how ESA works and how it does or could impact human lives, they overwhelmingly agree that it goes too far.

The Delta smelt is a silver-colored fish about the size of an adult's little finger. Its natural weaknesses include a one-year life span and its meager reproduction of offspring due to its intolerance of any disturbance during the mating act. It also appears on course to cause unprecedented harm to California's already flagging economy and to two-thirds of its people.

For more than 30 years, the federal Central Valley Project and California's State Water Project (the California Aqueduct) collectively have transported water through the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta to an increasing population living in the Bay Area, the Central Valley, and Southern California as far south as San Diego. These projects also furnish water to irrigate much of the state's farmland — acreage that produces more than 200 crops of food and fiber, including half the nation's fruits and vegetables. These coordinated water projects operate large pumping stations at the south end of the Delta (near the community of Tracy) that propel the water on its long journey.

In 1993 the already-declining Delta smelt population was listed as a threatened species under ESA. The U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service's (FWS) lead expert observed that while the Delta smelt was one of the most common and abundant fish in the Delta during the early 1970s, "over the last 20 years" (1973 — 1993) its number had declined 10-fold, and that since 1982 had remained at extremely low levels. Besides its

short life-span and meager reproduction, other factors contributing to the Delta smelt's decline are young smelts' weak swimming capacity, the degraded quality of Delta waters, the frequent and rapid changes in Delta water flow, entrainment of young smelt by water diversions and the projects' pumping stations, predation by other fish, and a succession of invasive species that have consumed its food chain (especially the voracious Asian clam). Years of work and funds expended by federal and state wildlife agencies have achieved little success in addressing the smelt problem, or that of other native fish species. The Delta smelt population has continued to decline.

A 2005 FWS Biological Opinion found many

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*The court reduced 2008 Delta water deliveries 30 percent to the Bay Area, Central Valley, and Southern California.*

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causes responsible for the smelt's decline, but that future water exports through the federal and state pumping stations, while likely taking a few smelt, were *not* jeopardizing the species' continued existence. That is: it wouldn't go extinct by reason of the pumps alone. With that, environmental groups brought suit in federal court challenging the Biological Opinion, charging that because the smelt's continuing decline since 2004 coincided with the pumping stations' increased water exports the same years, the decline could be attributed to the pumps. They asked the court to shut the pumps down completely.

Although the judge recognized that several factors were responsible for the smelt's decline, he agreed with the enviro-plaintiffs that the state and federal water projects were killing smelt in some uncertain number. Mindful of his duty under ESA to preserve the Delta smelt "whatever the cost," in a series of rulings culminating in a landmark December 2007 decision, U.S. District Judge Oliver Wanger ordered the pumps shut down during those months when young smelt are in the vicinity of the pumping stations and in jeopardy of being entrained. Troubled by FWS's conclusion that the pumps

were not the primary cause of the smelt's decline, he ordered FWS to prepare a new Biological Opinion.

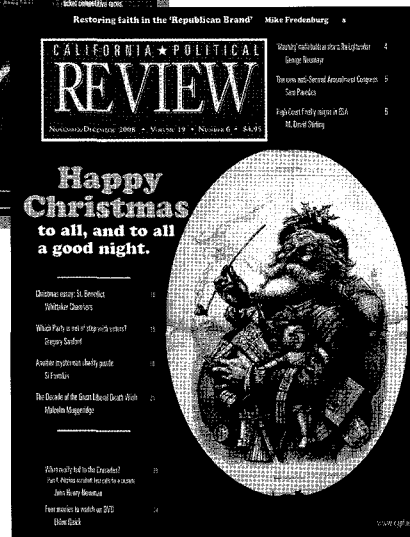
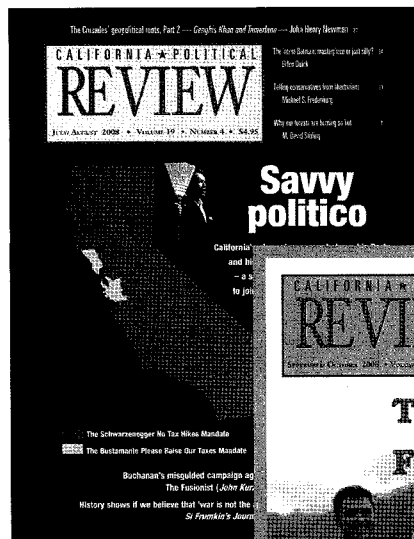
The court's ruling reduced Delta water deliveries during 2008 by 30 percent to water contractors in the Bay Area, Central Valley, and Southern California. According to the state Department of Fish & Game, this reduction has resulted in a hit to the state's economy estimated at \$300 million. The California Water Agencies' representative called it "the most drastic cut ever to California water. It's the biggest impact anywhere, nationwide." Then FWS issued its new Biological Opinion in December 2008. This time primary responsibility for the Delta smelt's decline was attributed to the federal and state water projects' pumping stations. While this opinion will be challenged by farmers, water agencies, and communities more seriously hurt by it, if Northern California receives less than normal rainfall and snowpack, which appears likely at this writing, through-Delta water deliveries could be reduced by as much as 90 percent, according to the state's water resources department. Nor is the Delta smelt the only fish declining. In coming months additional water exportation restrictions under ESA could be imposed for the longfin smelt, as well as for salmon and steelhead trout.

The *Sacramento Bee* editorializes accurately that "[t]he Endangered Species Act is an unforgiving club when a species is about to vanish": ESA enforcement fails to recognize the need to balance preservation of species against human considerations. On one hand the Delta smelt has been in decline for more than 35 years and will likely become extinct from several reasons no matter how much effort or funds are expended to protect and recover it. Aggressive invasive species — to consider one cause alone — have greatly proliferated and are intractable. On the other hand, a potential 90 percent reduction of water to 25 million people for drinking, household, and business purposes, and for irrigation to California's \$32 billion (annually) agricultural industry, could lead to unimaginable health, economic, and social consequences. Thus, given the choice between ESA's apparent demand for a draconian cut-off of water and a balanced approach to species protection, most people would agree: "ESA goes too far." CFR

# An Opening for Common Sense

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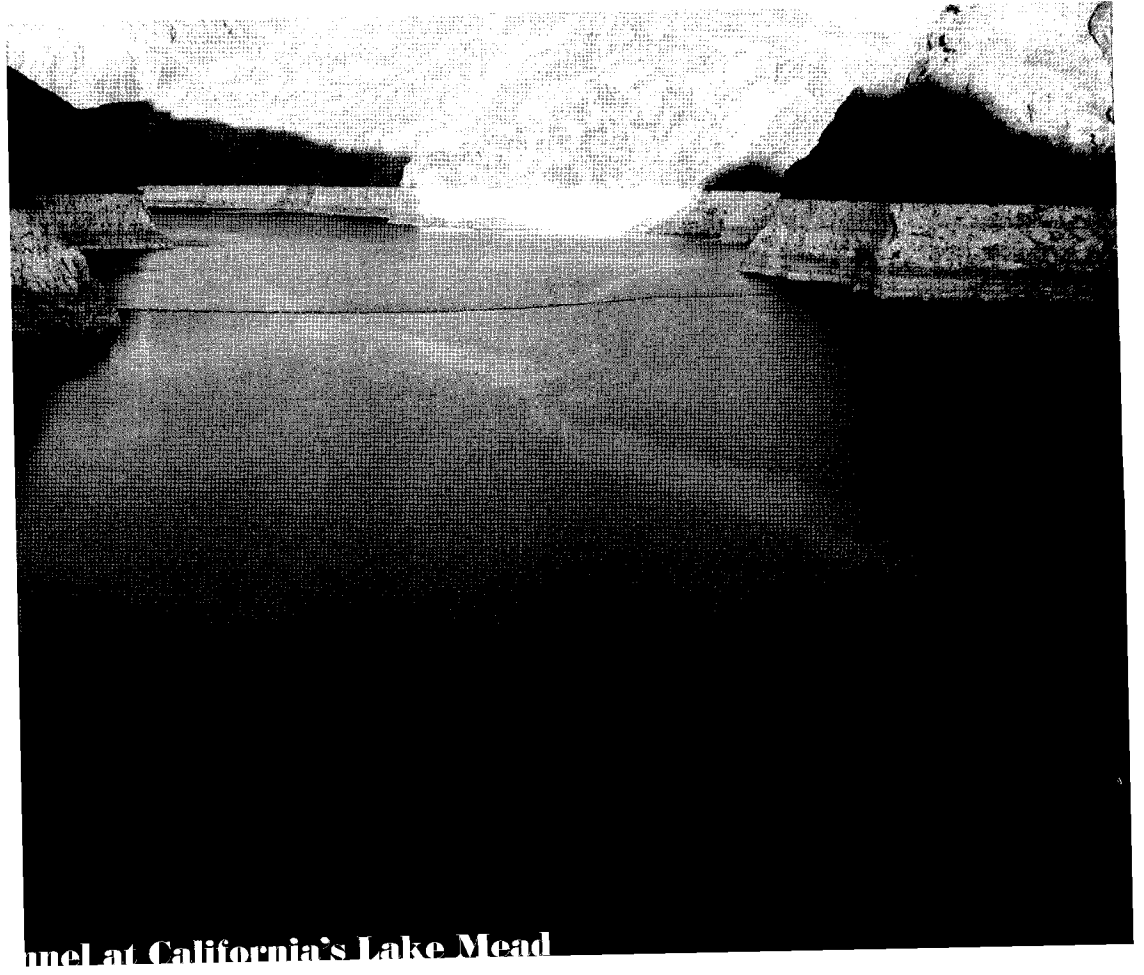
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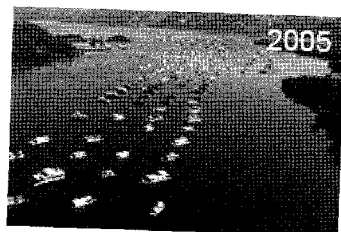
**Left-wing  
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human beings  
*are* the problem.  
They may find,  
to their grief,  
that these  
troublesome  
people are about  
to launch**

# **California's Upcoming Water Revolt**



Canal at California's Lake Mead

and the Central Valley led world food production. But now we are running out of water. Why? The left blames the always handy drought. But much of California has always been a desert. That's a convenient excuse of dictators, both real and would-be, employed in Russia in the 1930s, in Ethiopia in the '80s, in North Korea, and California, now. In each case, the crisis was and is man-made.



2005: Northern California's Lake Oroville Marina, showing normal water levels.

Left-wing environmentalists simply believe human beings *are* the problem. Most Republicans believe the natural world ought to serve the human race. Most of us also do not buy the left-wing notion it is impossible to serve both the good of people and the good of the planet at the same time.

With the left, as in their always-pessimistic economics, this is a kind of war, pitting people against the world and the world against us. Again as in their economics, the left sees the conflict as a zero-sum game in which only by taking and harming its enemy can either side help itself. This is fever-swamp ideology over-running rational science and common sense.

Few Republicans buy into it. Once more, as in our ideas about economics, most Republicans reject zero-sum pessimism. Citing vast stores of human experience, we believe wise policy almost always can and will serve both sides: the people and the planet. Yes, sometimes compromise is required, at least over the short term, and sometimes immediate environmental concerns must take a back seat completely, again usually temporarily. But such situations, we believe, are extremely rare. In any event, they only arise when critical issues of survival are at stake. Human beings must have water to survive; so must human society, and without human society, nothing remains to protect the environment. So even if, for a short time, we must prefer human interests to those of nature, even then we are serving the ultimate needs of the planet — the need to maintain a society of people to care for the environment at all. This is a key existential difference in the thinking that defines our two major political parties.

**R**epublicans see the people as the necessary beneficial agents that make all good policy and societal advancement possible. But, as I say, Democrats glumly believe that people are the problem, so their bizarre solution is to get rid of us. They've set themselves a daunting task: selling this strange message to the people themselves, in the process creating a political opportunity for anyone

who doesn't share their self-loathing pessimism.

In the specific case of water, for instance, the left goes beyond preferring environmental concerns to human needs. They seek to manage water as a tool to limit human population. On the phony excuse that fewer people equals environmental improvement, left Democrats *always* oppose activities to support large and growing populations, or — as in California now — even to sustain existing populations. They oppose dams to help conserve water and urge tearing them down. They oppose water channels that permit agriculture and growth and demand that *they* be shut down. Their objective is to shrink the number of people living in a given area and to lower living standards for those that remain — *whether or not the environment receives any significant, demonstrable advantage from the anti-people policy.* This position is shared by few Californians and is highly potent politically, a point I will return to shortly.

### BROWN IS BEAUTIFUL?

But here is my prediction: Californians will face the most severe water rationing in their lives, a situation mirroring the sorry state of Third World countries. And, at that fast-approaching point, Californians will revolt. Think of the 2003 Recall on steroids. Consider the following developments.

In the trendy, hippie-throw-back community of Bolinas, California, the scourge has already begun. This Marin County oceanside town announced an immediate water rationing program designed to cut human water consumption 25 percent. And the enforcement will be draconian: after three warnings, all water will be cut off. Bolinas' already frugal population, using an average of only 208 gallons of water a day, is being rewarded for what the left would call "environmentally responsible" stewardship of their water by being limited now to no more than 150 gallons a day. Bolinas created these problem years ago. As reported in the Feb. 4, 2009, *San Francisco Chronicle*, Bolinas purposely created a "self-contained" water system with "limited supply" that together "have kept the population steady ...." The plan is still working. Bolinas straitjacketed its own water supply, so the locals should support rationing enthusiastically. But what about the rest of us?

The *Chronicle* also reports that the San Francisco Bay Area's East Bay Municipal Utility is imposing 15 percent rationing, effective immediately. Sonoma County Water is threatening to cut supplies 30 to 50 percent later this year. And San Diego Mayor Jerry Sanders recently announced that water rationing would likely be imposed in his city by July 1. According to the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, "Water Administrator

Alex Ruiz said the city's rationing plan would try to take into account customers' historic conservation efforts and seek to distinguish between "discretionary" outdoor water uses and indoor uses such as cooking and cleaning. [Mayor] Sanders said few will welcome this."

### WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Once Californians can no longer take a daily shower, the "objective conditions" will be ripe for political revolution. The masses will pick up their rakes and shovels and march to the water district. When the inevitable severe water rationing takes place, fingers will point and culprits will be blamed. We can expect some form of the "blame nature" argument from Democrats, who will put it all on the "drought," just as North Korea's tyrants do when the nation's crops fail. Republicans should be prepared to answer this dodge. The blame lies squarely with the fanatically anti-people, pro-Big Government Enviro-Socialists who control America's and California's resources policy and drive the nation's various radical eco-left environmental activist organizations.

Republicans who know the facts will be well-positioned to identify the true culprits responsible for this unfortunate situation. The San Joaquin-Sacramento River Delta provides about two-thirds of the water used by Californians. A federal judge recently invoked a three-decade-old, addled Supreme Court interpretation of the Endangered Species Act — that ESA requires species protection must take precedence over any and all other concerns "whatever the cost," even though no hint exists in the original act or congress's intent to support this notion. In August 2007, Federal District Judge Oliver W. Wanger took this precedent to require that both the State Water Project and Central Valley Project were operating in violation of ESA with regard to a tiny fish called the Delta Smelt. He ordered stiff reductions in the amount of water exported from the Delta. An August 2008 ruling from the same judge added that project operations were also jeopardizing salmon. The best way to discredit bad law, so the old axiom tells us, is to enforce it. Thus, we may end up thanking this judge for forcing us to face the foolish but logical conclusion of the Supreme Court's original "whatever the cost" ruling. (For more on the legal history and current status of ESA law, see M. David Stirling's "Man-Made Drought," this issue of CPR, page 13.)

Another court decision has reduced Los Angeles's water supply from the Owens Valley, for 100 years a crucial lifeline for the state's biggest metropolitan pop-

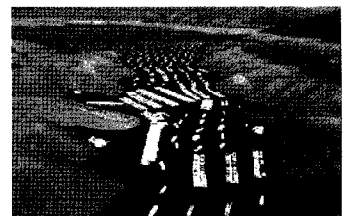
ulation. According to the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, the Owens Valley will supply just 17 percent of the water for DWP customers this year, considerably less than last year when 62 percent of DWP's needs were supplied by Owens Valley water.

### CALLOUS ANTI-PEOPLE IDEOLOGY

Republicans must begin to educate the public that water rationing should not be necessary, but that it is coming to plague us as a direct result of Democrat leaders' callous anti-people ideology. For instance, we must notice blithely-made statements such as one from left-wing Ellen Hanak of the Public Policy Institute of California that "Managing water supplies for human use is not always compatible with providing healthy conditions for the Delta ecosystem." Ho-hum. Presumably, Ms. Hanak thinks we now know enough to justify demanding that millions of Californians be deprived of water.

**B**ut, of course, we know no such thing. The truth is that the left has followed a consistent policy aimed at cutting off Californians from their water supplies using any and all possible means to achieve it. The left-dominated Coastal Commission regularly shows knee-jerk opposition to any proposal to deal with energy or water needs that might actually serve the people. The Democrat-dominated Legislature and now also the U.S. Congress show similar intolerance of any solution that might in any way serve people as well as the environment. They all insist upon absolutist interpretations of such laws as the Endangered Species or Clean Water Acts, refusing to consider any sort of reasonable balance in their administration. They automatically oppose any solution that allows people to continue to live normally. On the contrary, they consistently (and irresponsibly) condemn any voice asking for a reasonable interpretation or enforcement that people can live with. In all this, they are consistently supported by a complacently echoing "news" media, which has become no more than a shameless Democrat publicity forum in just about every issue area possible.

Well, what can ordinary Californians, and state Republicans, use to fight back? First, of course, there is the truth — that this is a phony, manufactured "crisis" — and that the vast majority of people naturally prefer reasonable,



**By 2008, enviro-socialism had reduced the Oroville Marina water level to dangerously low levels.**

common sense, balanced dealing with political problems. Second, there is the public's healthy preference for policy-making based on realistic optimism. They know America became a great country by relying on its own free people to solve their own problems. They know that Big Government is a dead-end loser's way to tackle problems: bureaucratic, inflexible, and just plain brain dead.

**T**he people know that the Democrats' current (and historic) pessimism is unjustified. They know instinctively that any policy is impractical and unnecessary that requires ordinary people just trying to get by to endure intolerable burdens such as water rationing with draconian punishments for "violators."

### IT'S (STILL) MORNING IN AMERICA

The plain truth is that California, to meet its needs, can draw on resources containing more than enough water: resources in the north of our own state and, if necessary, going to Alaska. We know that natural gas and oil pipelines are regularly built over huge distances. That is, delivering water is, or ought to be, simply an engineering challenge. Desalination is another answer, and California has some 21 plants along its coast. But the anti-people, enviro-socialist Democrat leadership has made water a political problem, as the only way to succeed in ham stringing and ultimately denying water delivery. With these latest water cut-off court rulings, Democrat leaders may finally have succeeded in achieving that goal, but the people will never support them in this, if they know what is actually being done to them.

GOP leaders have tried to supply leadership in this area. In 2007, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger made water infrastructure his top priority, campaigning hard, along with Republican state Senator Dave Cogdill, for a comprehensive \$9 billion water infrastructure package that included funding for three new dams (also known as surface storage). Democrats and state Senate Leader Don Perata responded by proposing a \$5 billion plan that included funding for water conservation and regional programs, but cut all money for dams.

The rest is up to rank-and-file Republicans, to their candidates and their campaigns, and their volunteer organizations, to get the word out up and down the state. Ordinary Californians should know that this crisis is entirely man-made, or, rather, that it is liberal-Democrat, left-wing partisan politics-made, with a mighty assist from organizations of zealous anti-people, enviro-socialist wackos. They must also know the GOP is ready, if given the chance, to replace the left's fool-

ish, entirely one-sided policies with balanced ones — policies that recognize the great potential we possess as a people to meet our concerns both for water and for a healthy environment. Republicans can and should prepare and campaign on common sense policies that provide a stark alternative to the left's continual fall-back position of self-loathing pessimism and anti-people hysteria.

Issue the clarion call. The message is straightforward and clear: people must have water to survive. The Democrats have embarked on a misguided campaign to deny us that water — without cause and without either scientific or popular support. Contrast their message of despair with one of hope. Remember Reagan's words: It's morning in America. The "era of malaise" motif will never fly with normal people here or around the country.

GOP leaders, writers, activists, and especially candidates will have to ring the alarm. This is how political climates change. We all know it is wrong for government to deprive us of so absolute a necessity as sufficient water to stay healthy, wash ourselves, and water our plants. We also know we have enough water to do all this without unduly harming the environment.

### SPREAD THE WORD OF TRUTH

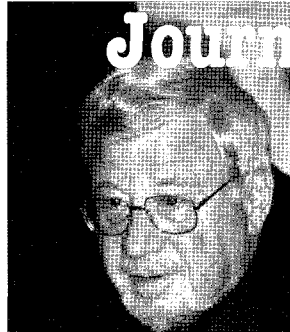
But what the public must become aware of (and the major media won't tell them) is that the Democrats have created this unnecessary water shortage to serve their own narrow-minded ideological/political agenda. Job one is to spread the word of truth to the people.

Politically correct Tim Quinn, executive director of the Association of California Water Agencies, articulated dominant Democrat thinking by arguing that "Fifty years ago, policies were about extracting resources and the environment didn't count. Today's policies are about recognizing the value of the environment itself, apart from the economic value to people" — a slur on the people (who consistently support reasonable environmental protection) and on former-Governor Pat Brown. But worse, it is a shameless white-wash of completely unnecessary, draconian policies designed not to serve but to trample the people's true interests in both the environment and maintaining an economically healthy, free way of life.

**S**o don't forget to thank Tim Quinn, Jerry Brown, Don Perata, and their killjoy Democrat spirit of "malaise" the next time you turn on your faucet, and find, instead of the free flow of water we've rightly come to expect, a flow run dry.

CPR

## Si Frumkin's Journal



# The secret money in your wallet

**I** am not an economist nor do I pretend to understand the intricacies of the financial market. I realize that economics is one of the few professions — weather forecasting is another one — where no one ever has to apologize for wrong predictions or costly errors. Still, one economic principle is perfectly clear to me: when I spend less money on something, I have more money left over to spend on something else.

I hated it when gasoline had gone up to more than \$4 a gallon and I was very much aware that I had to pay more than \$50 every time I filled up. By early January, when the price had dropped to below \$2, I almost enjoyed the memory of the expensive fill-up — \$20 buys a full tank. And even though gas is still cheaper, I don't drive more than I did when it was expensive. I just keep the additional \$20 to \$30 in my wallet. I am sure you do as well.

So here is what puzzles me. Our financial troubles began when the price of a barrel of gas rose from the about \$60 to about \$150, and kept rising daily. Everything that used petroleum became more expensive. Gasoline cost more, so driving, flying, boating, transportation, delivery of everything to and from factories and stores, airline tickets, plastic products (most of

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*Si Frumkin is publisher and editor of Graffiti for Intellectuals.*



Remember when?

plastic is derived from petroleum) also cost a lot more.

Trouble began soon after. The real estate market collapsed. People had taken out bad mortgages and were now unable to pay. And greedy corporations took advantage of stupid consumers who bought what they didn't need for money they didn't have and then found that they couldn't pay their credit card balances. There was a lack of available money among consumers who had no money left over after filling up their gas tanks and lost the jobs they had with small businesses that couldn't pay or be paid for what they sold.

But it all started with the rising price of oil.

**N**ow, the economists and our new president are trying to jump start our economy again by printing a lot of new money and injecting it into the financial system. The idea, as I understand it, is that this money will somehow find its way to the average American who will then go spend it at a store that will use the money to buy stuff to sell, or a corporation to build wonderful new cars that the automobile people will create and sell at a profit to eager customers. The government will also print enough money to pay people to build roads, bridges, power lines, and all kinds of other projects that will put to work those who are unemployed. As I said, I am not an economist and I can't explain how an insurance salesman, an electronics maven, a journalist, or a bank teller could be used to build a bridge or a subway, but that's another story.

What really bothers me is this. Unlike classical economics, it is clear and easy to understand: the United States consumes 20 million barrels of oil daily. The price per barrel of oil, between early October 2008 and

the beginning of this year, dropped from close to \$150 to about \$40 or less. So, using elementary math and no complex formulas, this price drop permitted the people of the United States — that is you and me; the government doesn't pay for the oil — to save more than \$2 billion every day. Given a year of 365 days, that's about \$700 billion that stays in our pockets instead of being sent off to Saudi Arabia or other such friends.

**S**even hundred billion dollars. Hmmm. Where did we see this number recently? Oh yes, that was the partial stimulus the government was trying to give away to make the economy get well. Actually, that package may be more than \$700 billion. That was just what our Congress approved in October 2008. Congress and our president are now busily trying to figure out how much and where to waste a few more billions — \$800 billion, \$900 billion, maybe an even trillion dollars.

So, there we are. An enormous incentive/stimulus/bailout is already in our pockets and it grows every day as long as oil is cheap. The funny part is that no one in Washington, Wall Street, or any of the think tanks that tell the media what is what in economics appears to have noticed the money that we — you and I — are saving and are able to use any way we decide to: buying stuff, starting businesses, building homes, or even putting it into savings accounts where it can be borrowed by businesses.

So maybe we don't really need more stimulus and more incentive. And since the oil savings money is not given by government with instructions on how to spend it (it goes right into the individual's wallet), isn't this a cheaper and more efficient way to achieve the objective of getting us out of the trouble we are in? Or is the very idea of losing control over peoples' lives too radical for our Washington honchos and Obamian economists?

Whatever the answer, I believe that the hundreds of billions you and I save by getting cheaper oil is too important to ignore the way it is ignored now.



U.S. Senate floor debate

CPR



## HISTORY

# What *really* led to the Crusades?

## Part 5

BY JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

*Few topics have become as confused, as clouded over with historical misinformation, or as conducive of a misplaced "say nothing about it; I already know more than I want to" complacency of mind than the Crusades — the series of military expeditions launched from Europe against Moslem-Turkish forces in the East commencing in 1095 and continuing through the following two centuries. (Which should, for historic completeness, also include the successful defense of Malta in 1565 against Turkish invaders; the naval defeat of the Turks in 1571 at the Battle of Lepanto; and the final elimination of the Turkish threat to Europe in 1683 before the gates of Vienna.)*

*A clear picture of this vast conflict requires first that it be seen in its full historical context. To help supply that context, CPR here publishes the fifth installment in this series: excerpts from a set of brilliant lectures "On the History of the Turks," delivered to English audiences in 1853 by John Henry Cardinal Newman. Newman gave his talks, as he put it, "when we [the English people] are on the point of undertaking a great war in behalf of the Turks" — in the Crimea — something Newman saw as requiring examination, given the Turks' historic role vis à vis the West. CPR here taps these lectures' larger value in placing the Crusades in the context of Western history.*

— editor

**W**AR WITH the Turks was the popes' uninterrupted cry for seven or eight centuries, from the eleventh to the eighteenth; it is a solitary and singular event in the history of the Church. Sylvester the Second (999-1003) was the originator of the scheme of a union of Christian nations against them. St. Gregory the Seventh (1073-85) collected 50,000 men to repel them. Urban the Second (1088-99) actually set in motion the long crusade. Honorius the Second (1124-30) instituted the order of Knight Templars to protect the pilgrims from their assaults. Eugenius the Third (1145-

53) sent St. Bernard to preach the Holy War. Innocent the Third (1198-1216) advocated it in the august Council of the Lateran. Nicholas the Fourth (1288-92) negotiated an alliance with the Tartars for its prosecution. Gregory the Tenth (1271-76), when he was elected pope, was in the Holy Land in the midst of it with our King Edward the First.

Urban the Fifth (1362-70) received and reconciled the Greek Emperor with a view to its renewal. Inno-

*John Henry Newman, English divine, philosopher, man of letters, and leader of the Tractarian Movement, lived from 1801 to 1890.*



**St. Bernard preached on behalf  
of the First Crusade**

cent the Sixth (1352-62) sent the Blessed Peter Thomas the Carmelite to preach in its behalf. Boniface the Ninth (1389-1404) raised the magnificent army of French, Hungarians, and Germans who fought the great battle of Nicopolis. Eugenius the Fourth (1431-47) formed the confederation of Hungarians and Poles who fought the battle of Varna. Nicholas the Fifth (1447-55) sent round St. John Capistran to urge the princes of Christendom against the enemy. Callixtus the Third (1455-58) sent the celebrated

Hunniades to fight with them. Pius the Second (1458-64) addressed to their Sultan an apostolic letter of warning and denunciation. Sixtus the Fourth (1471-84) fitted out a fleet against them. Innocent the Eighth (1484-92) made them his mark from the beginning of his pontificate to the end. St. Pius the Fifth (1566-72) added the "Auxilium Christianorum" to our Lady's Litany in thankfulness for his victory over them. Gregory the Thirteenth (1572-85) with the same purpose appointed the Festival of the Rosary.

Clement the Ninth (1667-69) died of grief on account of Turkish successes. The venerable Innocent the Eleventh (1676-89) appointed the Festival of the Holy Name of Mary for their rout before Vienna. Clement the Eleventh (1700-21) extended the Feast of the Rosary to the whole Church for the great victory over them near Belgrade. These are but some of the many instances which might be given; but they are enough for the purpose of showing the perseverance of the popes.

### ***A day of clouds and whirlwinds***

It was said by a Prophet of old, in the prospect of a fierce invader, "a day of clouds and whirlwinds, a numerous and strong people, as the morning spread upon the mountains. The like to it hath not been from the be-

ginning, nor shall be after it, even to the years of generation and generation. Before the face thereof a devouring fire, and behind it a burning flame. The land is like a garden of pleasure before it, and behind it a desolate wilderness; neither is there any one can escape it." Now I might, in illustration of the character which the Turks bear in history, suitably accommodate these words to the moral, or the social, or the political, or the religious calamities of which they were the authors to the Christian countries they overran; and so I might bring home to you the meaning and drift of that opposition with which the Holy See has met them in every age.

**I** MIGHT ENLARGE on the reckless and remorseless cruelty which, had they succeeded in Europe, as they succeeded in Asia, would have decimated or exterminated her children; I might have reminded you, for instance, how it has been almost a canon of their imperial policy for centuries, that their Sultan, on mounting the throne, should destroy his nearest of kin, father, brother, or cousin, who might rival him in his sovereignty; how he is surrounded, and his subjects according to their wealth, with slaves carried off from their homes, men and boys, living monuments of his barbarity towards the work of God's hands; how he has at his remorseless will and in the sudden breath of his mouth the life or death of all his subjects; how he multiplies his despotism by giving to his lieutenants in every province, a like prerogative; how little scruple those governors have ever felt in exercising this prerogative to the full, in executions on a large scale, and sudden overwhelming massacres, shedding blood like water, and playing with the life of man as though it were the life of a mere beast or reptile. I might call your attention to particular instances of such atrocities, such as that outrage perpetrated in the memory of many of us — how, on the insurrection of the Greeks at Scio, their barbarian masters carried fire and sword throughout the flourishing island till it was left a desert, hurrying away women and boys to an infamous captivity, and murdering youths and grown men, till out of 120,000 souls in the spring time, not 900 were left when the crops were ripe for the sickle. If I do not go into scenes such as these in detail, it is because I have wearied and troubled you more than enough already, in my account of the savage perpetrations of Genghis and Tamarlane.

I might remind you how within the last few years a Protestant traveler tells us that he found the Nestorian Christians, who had survived the massacres of their race, living in holes and pits, their pastures and tillage land forfeited, their sheep and cattle driven away, their villages burned, and their ministers and people tor-

tured; and how a Catholic missionary has found in the neighborhood of Broussa the remnant of some twenty Catholic families, who, in consequence of repudiating the Turkish faith, had been carried all the way from Servia and Albania across the sea to Asia Minor; the men killed, the women disgraced, the boys sold, till out of a hundred and eighty persons but eighty-seven were left, and they sick and famished and dying among their unburied dead.

I could of course continue this topic also to any extent, and draw it out as an illustration of the words of the Prophet which I have quoted. But I prefer to show the Turkish rule under an aspect addressed to the senses, not admitting of a question, calculated to rouse the sensibilities of Christians of whatever caste of opinion, and explanatory by itself of the determined front which the Holy See has ever made against it.

### **Paradise no more**

Throughout the whole extent of Turk-controlled territory, if you believe the report of travelers, the peasantry are indigent, oppressed, and wretched [*Alison on Population*, vol. i. p. 309. etc.]. The great island of Crete or Candia would maintain four times its present population; once it had a hundred cities; many of its towns, which were densely populous, are now obscure villages. Under the Venetians it used to export corn largely; now it imports it. As to Cyprus, from holding a million inhabitants, it now has only 30,000. Its climate was that of a perpetual spring; now it is unwholesome and unpleasant; its cities and towns nearly touched one another, now they are simply ruins. Corn, wine, oil, sugar, and the metals are among its productions; the soil is still exceedingly rich; but now, according to Dr. Clarke, in that "paradise of the Levant, agriculture is neglected, inhabitants are oppressed, population is destroyed." Cross over to the continent, and survey Syria and its neighboring cities; at this day the Turks themselves are dying out; Diarbekr, which numbered 400,000 souls in the middle of last century, forty years afterwards had dwindled to 50,000. Mosul had lost half its inhabitants; Bagdad had fallen from 130,000 to 20,000; and Bassora from 100,000 to 8,000.

If we pass on to Egypt, the tale is still the same. "In the fifteenth century," says Mr. Alison, "Egypt, after all the revolutions which it had undergone, was comparatively rich and populous; but since the fatal era of Turkish conquest, the tyranny of the pashas has ex-

pelled industry, riches, and the arts." Stretch across the width of Africa to Barbary, wherever there is a Turk, there is desolation. What indeed have the shepherds of the desert, in the most ambitious effort of their civilization, to do with the cultivation of the soil? "That fertile territory," says Robertson, "which sustained the Roman Empire, still lies in a great measure uncultivated; and that province, which Victor called *Speciositas totius terra florentis*, is now the retreat of pirates and banditti."

End your survey at length with Europe, and you find the same account is to be given of its Turkish provinces. In the Morea, Chateaubriand, wherever he went, behold villages destroyed by fire and sword, whole suburbs deserted, often fifteen leagues without a single habitation. "I have traveled," says Mr. Thornton, "through several provinces of European Turkey, and cannot convey an idea of the state of desolation in which that beautiful country is left. For the space of seventy miles, between Kirk Kilise and Carnabat, there is not an inhabitant, though the country is an earthly paradise. The extensive and pleasant village of Faki, with its houses deserted, its gardens overrun with weeds and grass, its lands waste and uncultivated, and now the resort of robbers, affects the traveler with the most painful sensations." Even in Wallachia and Moldavia the population has been gradually decreasing, while of that rich country not more than a fortieth part is under tillage. In a word, the average population in the whole Empire is not a fifth of what it was in ancient times.

### **Study in contrasts**

I cannot help exclaiming how different is the condi-



Italy's rich countryside



**Knights Templars**

tion of that other peninsula in the center of which is placed the See of Peter. I think it will be instructive to dwell upon the account given us of Italy by an intelligent and popular writer of this day. Mr. Alison, then, in his most diligent and interesting history of Europe, praises the mountainous region of Italy, where art has to supply the deficiencies of nature. "An admirable terrace-cultivation, where art and industry have combined to overcome the obstacles of nature, has everywhere converted the slopes, naturally sterile and arid, into a succession of gardens, loaded with the choicest vegetable productions. The earth is required to be brought in from a distance, retaining walls erected, the steep slopes converted into a series of gentle inclinations, the mountain-torrent diverted or restrained, and the means of artificial irrigation, to sustain nature during the long droughts of summer, obtained. By the incessant labor of centuries this prodigy has been completed, and the very stony sterility of nature converted into the means of heightening, by artificial means, the heat of summer .... No room is lost in these little but precious freeholds; the vine extends its tendrils along the terrace walls ... in the corners formed by their meeting, a little sheltered nook is found, where fig-trees are planted, which ripen delicious fruit under their protection. The owner takes advantage of every vacant space to raise melons and vegetables. Olives shelter it from the rains so that, within the compass of a very small garden, he obtains olives, figs, grapes, pomegranates, and melons. Such is the return which nature yields under this admirable system of management, that half the crop of seven acres is sufficient in general for the maintenance of a family of five persons, and the whole produce supports them all in rustic affluence. Italy, in this delightful region, still realizes the glowing description of her classic historian three hundred years ago."

**T**HE AUTHOR I have quoted goes on next to observe that this diligent cultivation of the rock accounts for what at first sight is inexplicable, *viz.*, the vast population, which is found, not merely in the valleys, but over the greater part of the ridges of the Apennines, and the endless succession of villages and hamlets which are perched on the edge or summit of rocks, often, to appearance, scarcely accessible to human approach. He adds that

the labor never ends, for, if a place goes out of repair, the violence of the rain will soon destroy it. "Stones and torrents wash down the soil; the terraces are broken through; the heavy rains bring down a shapeless mass of ruins; everything returns rapidly to its former state." Thus it is that parts of Palestine at present exhibit such desolate features to the traveler, who wonders how it ever could have been the rich land described in Scripture; till he finds that it was this sort of cultivation which made it what it was, that this it was the Crusaders probably saw and imported into Europe, and this that the ruthless Turks in great measure laid waste.

Such is the contrast between Italy under its present governments and Asia Minor under the Turks; and can we doubt at all, that, if the Turks had conquered Italy, they would have caused the labors of the agriculturist and the farmer to cease, and have reduced it to the level of their present dominions?

### ***The Pope and the Turk***

And now, having dwelt upon the broad contrast that exists between Christendom and Turkey, I proceed to give you some general idea of the Ottoman Turks, who are at present in power, as I have already sketched the history of the Seljukian. We left off with the Crusaders victorious in the Holy Land, and the Seljukian Sultan, the cousin of Malek Shah, driven back from his capital over against Constantinople, to an obscure town on the Cilician border of Asia Minor. This is that Sultan "Solyman," who plays so conspicuous a part in Tasso's celebrated poem, "Jerusalem Delivered":

That Solyman, than whom there was not any  
Of all God's foes more rebel an offender;  
Nay, nor a giant such, among the many  
Whom earth once bore, and might again engender;  
The Turkish Prince, who first the Greeks expelling,  
Fixed at Nicaea his imperial dwelling.

And then he made his infidel advances  
From Phrygian Sangar to Meander's river;  
Lydia and Mysia, humbled in war's chances,  
Bithynia, Pontus, hymned the Arch-deceiver;  
But when to Asia passed the Christian lances,  
To battle with the Turk and misbeliever,  
He, in two fields, encountered two disasters,  
And so he fled, and the vexed land changed masters.

Two centuries of military effort followed, and then the contest seemed over; the barbarians of the North destroyed, and Europe free. It seemed as though the Turks had come to their end and were dying out, as

the Saracens had died out before them, when suddenly, when the breath of the last Seljukian Sultan was flitting at Iconium, and the Crusaders had broken their last lance for the Holy Sepulcher, on July 27, 1301, the rule and dynasty of the Ottomans rose up from his death-bed.

### Ten great Sultans

Othman, the founder of the line and people, who take from him the name of Ottoman or Osmanli, was the grandson of a nomad Turk, or Turcoman, who, descending from the North by Sogdiana and the Oxus, took the prescriptive course (as I may call it) towards social and political improvement. His son, Othman's father, came into the service of the last Sultan of the Seljukian line, and governed for fifty-two years a horde of 400 families.

That line of sovereigns had been for a time in alliance with the Greek Emperors; but Othman inherited the fanaticism of the desert, and, when he succeeded to his father's power, he proclaimed a gazi, or holy war, against the professors of Christianity. Suddenly, like some beast of prey, he managed to leap the mountain heights that separated the Greek Province from the Mahomedan conquests, and he pitched himself in Broussa, in Bithynia [in what is now northwest Turkey], which remained from that time the Turkish capital, till it was exchanged for Adrianople and Constantinople.

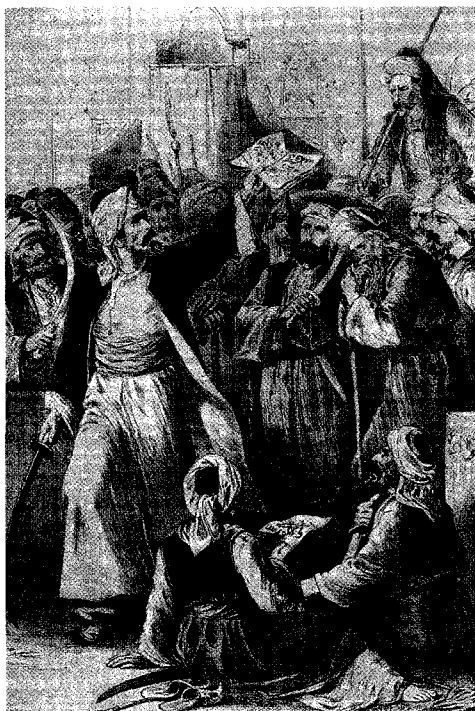
This was the beginning of a long series of conquests lasting about 270 years, till the Ottomans became one of the first, if not *the* first, power, not only of Asia, but of the world.

These conquests were achieved during the reigns of ten great Sultans, the average length of whose reigns is as much as twenty-six years, an unusual period for military sovereigns, and both an evidence of the stability, and a means of the extension, of their power. Then came the period of their decline, and we are led on through the space of another 270 years, up to our own day, when they seem on the verge of some great reverse or overthrow. In this second period they have had as many as twenty-one Sultans, whose average reigns are only half the length of

those who preceded them, and afford as cogent an argument of their national disorder and demoralization. Of these twenty-one, five have been strangled, three have been deposed, and three have died of excess; of the remaining ten, four only have attained the age of man, and these come together in the course of the last century; two others have died about the age of thirty, and three about the age of fifty. The last, the thirty-first from Othman, is the present Sultan, who came to the throne as a boy, and is described at that time by an English traveler, as one of the most "sickly, pale, inanimate, and unmanly youths he ever saw," [Formby's *Visit to the East*] and who has this very year just reached the average length of the reign of his twenty predecessors.

The names of the Ottoman Sultans are more familiar to us and easier to recollect than other Oriental sovereigns, partly from their greater euphony as Europeans read them, partly from their recurrence again and again in the catalog. There are four Mahomets, four Mustaphas, four Amuraths or Murads, three Selims, three Achmets, three Othmans, two Mahmoods, two Solimans, and two Bajazets. (The three remaining of the thirty are Orchan, Ibrahim, and Abdoul Achmet.)

I HAVE ALREADY described Othman, the founder of the line, as a soldier of fortune in the Seljukian service; and, in spite of the civilizing influences of the country, the people, and the religion, to which he had attached himself, he had not as yet laid aside the habits of his ancestors, but was half shepherd, half freebooter. Nor is it likely that any of his countrymen would be anything else, as long as they were still in war and in subordinate posts. Peace must precede the enjoyment, and power the arts of government; and the very readiness with which his followers left their nomad life, as soon as they had the opportunity, shows that the means of civilization which they had enjoyed, had not been thrown away on them. The soldiers of Genghis, when laden with booty, and not till then, cried out to be led back, and would fight no more; Tamerlane, at the end of fifty years, began to be a magnificent king. In like manner, Othman observed the life



Othman proclaiming the Moslem faith

of a Turcoman, till he became a conqueror; but, as soon as he had crossed Mount Olympus, and found himself in the Greek territory as a master, he was both willing and able to accommodate himself to a pomp and luxury to which a mere Turcoman was unequal. He bade adieu to his fastnesses in the heights, and he began to fortify the towns and castles which he had heretofore pillaged. Conquest and civilization went hand in hand.

His successor, Orchan, selected a capital, which he ornamented with a mosque, a hospital, a mint, and a college; he introduced professors of the sciences, and, what was as great a departure from Tartar habits, he raised a force of infantry, among his captives (in anticipation of the Janizaries, formed soon after), and he furnished himself with a train of battering engines. More strange still, he gained the Greek Emperor's daughter in marriage, a Christian princess; and lastly, he crossed over into Europe under cover of friendship to the court of Constantinople, and possessed himself of Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont.

His successors gained first Roumelia, that is, the country round Constantinople, as far as the Balkan, with Adrianople for a capital; then they successively swept over Moldavia, Servia, Bulgaria, Greece, and the Morea.

Then they gained a portion of Hungary; then they took Constantinople, just 400 years ago this very year. Meanwhile they had extended their empire into Syria, Egypt, and along the coast of Africa. And thus at length they more than half encompassed the Mediterranean, from the straits of Gibraltar to the Gulf of Venice, and reigned in three quarters of the world.

### ***What of the Christians?***

Now you may ask me, what were Christians doing in Europe all this while? What was the Holy Father about at Rome, if he did not turn his eyes, as heretofore, on the suffering state of his Asiatic provinces, and oppose some rampart to the advance of the enemy upon Constantinople? and how has he been the enduring enemy of the Turk, if he acquiesced in the Turk's long course of victories? Alas! he often looked towards the East, and often raised the alarm, and often, as I have said, attempted by means of the powers of Christendom, what his mission did not give him arms to do himself. But he was impeded and embarrassed by so many and such various difficulties, that, if I proposed to go through them, I should find myself engaged in a history of Europe during those centuries. I will suggest some of them, though I can do no more.

First of all, then, I observe generally, that the pope,

in attempting to save Constantinople and its Empire, was attempting to save a fanatical people, who had for ages set themselves against the Holy See and the Latin world, and who had for centuries been under a sentence of excommunication. They hated and feared the Catholics, as much as they hated and feared the Turks, and they condemned them too, for their comparative rudeness and ignorance of literature; and this hatred and fear and contempt were grafted on a cowardly, crafty, insincere, and fickle character of mind, for which they had been notorious from time immemorial. It was impossible to save them without their own cordial cooperation; it was impossible to save them in spite of themselves.

**T**HESE ODIUS traits and dispositions had, in the course of the two hundred years during which the Crusades lasted, borne abundant fruits and exhibited themselves in results intolerable to the warlike multitudes who had come to their assistance. For two hundred years "each spring and summer had produced a new emigration of pilgrim warriors for the defense of the Holy Land;" (Gibbon) and what had been the effect upon the Greeks of such prodigality of succor? From the very first, their pride was wounded, and their cowardice alarmed, at the sight of their protector in their city and provinces, and they took every means to weaken and annoy the very men whom they had invited.

In the great council of Placentia, summoned by Urban the Second, before the Crusades were yet begun, in the presence of 200 Latin Bishops, 4,000 inferior clergy, and 30,000 laity, the ambassadors of the Greek Emperor had been introduced and they pleaded the distress of their sovereign and the danger of their city, which the misbelievers already were threatening (Gibbon). They insisted on its being the policy of the Latin princes to repel the barbarian in Asia rather than when he was in the heart of Europe, and drew such a picture of their own miseries, that the vast assembly burst into tears, and dismissed them with the assurance of their most zealous cooperation.

Yet what, I say, was the reception which the cowardly suppliants had given to their avengers and protectors? what satisfaction, what gratitude had they shown for an undertaking on the part of the West, which ought properly to have been their own, and which the West commenced, because the East asked it?

— ***Final installment next issue, concluding  
'The Ottomans and the Christians.'***

CPR

# Speaking truth to power

Conservative  
jester Evan Sayet  
discusses the  
power of comedy  
and why  
John Lennon  
imagined heaven  
as nothing left  
to die — or live —  
for.

## Interview by Eldon Quick

**E**VAN SAYET is one of the Los Angeles area's most in-demand conservative speakers — a political pundit called “brilliant” by Dennis Prager for his take on the unique power of the Judeo-Christian culture and singled out by Rush Limbaugh for his explanation of why liberals lie. Evan is also a hilariously funny comic who mixes thoughtful political philosophy with sharp barbed arrows at the world of liberalism. He appears monthly with his comedy show “Right to Laugh” — and as many conservatives as the room will hold — at Hollywood's

Laugh Factory on Sunset Boulevard.

His March 2007 speech at the Heritage Foundation is available on YouTube (where, as of January, it had generated almost 500,000 hits). Other Sayet interviews (conducted, for example, by David Horowitz) and appearances (on, for instance, The Mike Church Show) are also available on YouTube. Evan, a client of Nationwide, one of the country's top speakers' bureaus, was recently booked at the prestigious Lincoln Clubs whose monthly roster of speakers includes Ken Starr, former U.S. Treasury

Secretary Rosario Marin, Israeli Consul General Ehud Danoch, and others of similar intellectual heft and importance.

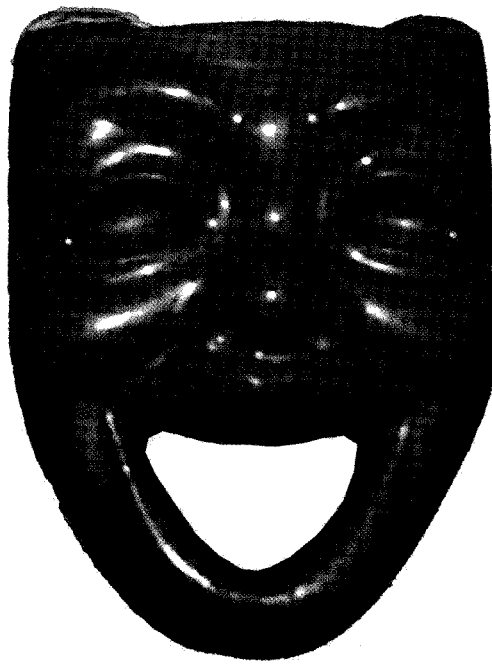
I recorded the following conversation recently, sitting opposite him in a booth at a local coffee shop.

**Eldon Quick:** Is the most devastating weapon to use against your adversary merely to point and laugh?

**Evan Sayet:** Yeah. It's doubly im-

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*Eldon Quick is California Political Review's film critic and pop/entertainment culture commentator.*



portant to me, from our side — which is characterized as having no sense of humor — and it is doubly again important, now that the story is being sold, by those who don't want to weaken their favorite candidate, that we should not ridicule Obama because he is just so wonderful there's nothing to make fun of. Shortly after that idea was put out there, I started one of my shows by rattling off jokes as I would write them for TV shows, specifically late night TV shows.

**O**N THAT job, you get in at 9 or 10 in the morning, go through the newspapers, and by noon you had 20 jokes for the monologue. Now, not all of them were great, far from it. And that's why Leno has 15 writers, if he gets two from each for the monologue, that's twice what he needs. So the day of my show, I got up at that hour, wrote for the same length of time, and came up with 20 Obama jokes. I wrote them one after an-

other, after another, after another. So how ludicrous is this idea that Obama is untouchable when it comes to humor?

Secondly, ridicule is a powerful weapon. It doesn't just point out foibles and knock them half-way down. It knocks them all the way down. Given that Obama is on such a pedestal, the fall down is much further — and more enjoyable and easier to do. It's also more profitable from a political point of view. I don't mean money-wise, but more successful politically because it's always been the comedian, as far back as Shakespeare's time when it was the jester who could speak truth to power.

So all across the board, on several levels, humor and satire coming from our side is essential and powerful.

**Mr. Quick:** But does comedy actually influence politics?

**Mr. Sayet:** It's hard to know the influence of any one person or any one effort because it comes from so many different angles. I'm a big fan of Dennis Prager and, for a long time Prager couldn't understand why people would choose, let's say, to be reformed Jews. If they liked Judaism, then why not go deeper into it? What he finally came to was that people need different venues to find the same truth. Some need a lighter venue. It's the same reason some people like classical music and some like Top 40 ditties. Yet they both enjoy music and music leads both to similar feelings.

We have a wide range of weapons with which to put the truth out there: the Dennis Pragers who are smart and moral in their delivery and clear in their purpose are one

weapon. Satirists are another weapon. People gravitate toward different things to be entertained and enlightened: to the one that says what strikes the cord that begins the process. I find that once you put a crack in liberalism, the whole glass shatters. It's like being in a cult. Once you get through, once you penetrate the veneer of that cult with reason, then the whole thing falls apart. So whether it's me as a comedian, or Thomas Sowell as an intellect, or Krauthammer as a rhetorician — whatever it is, each of us is attempting to put that first crack in the arguments of the left.

**Mr. Quick:** Certain subjects seem to be off limits for comedy. You mentioned Obama. How about Islam? Is it a forbidden subject?

**Mr. Sayet:** One of the wonderful things that happened in the election is that political correctness is meaningless to us now. It's been building, but I think we've reached a tipping point for a variety of reasons. It was so overboard, it was so clearly one-sided, it was so clearly not a standard but a weapon to stifle honest debate from the right. So the left could say anything, the left could do anything that promoted leftism, the left could engage the most virulent and vicious of hatreds against anybody who held any position on the right. There was nothing we could do about it. You will call me a racist no matter what; you will call me an Islamophobe no matter what; you will attack Judge Thomas about a pubic hair no matter what.

So at this point I won't allow myself to be shackled. I know who I am. I know what I am. I know my beliefs come not from bigotry or from the color of one's skin, but from the culture people show in their conduct. I ridicule their be-

haviors, their beliefs in practice, not the accidents of their births. So I think political correctness is out the window. I don't think it means anything to us anymore.

**Mr. Quick:** But is there a "politically correct" comedy? — a worldview accepted as legitimate for comedy while others are not?

**Mr. Sayet:** Yes. Let me answer that two ways: I'll speak from the micro, then the macro. I have to keep this in mind because I'm different from most comedians in that I don't play comedy clubs. It isn't, "Honey, let's go to the Improv. We had fun last time, and will have fun this time because I know their acts are good."

The people who come to see me know what to expect, and because of the way I market myself — grassroots, word of mouth, by organizations that I've spoken to, both seriously and comedically — I'm able to go deeper with issues than most comedians can. It's because I'm not playing a general, unknown audience as I would be either in a comedy club or like Leno on television. Every night, Leno has to do the most obvious joke about the most obvious truism that they themselves created. So the second you hear George Bush's name, you know the punch line is blah, blah, blah, he's so dumb. When you hear Dick Cheney's name, you know it's blah, blah, blah, isn't he evil? Years ago when I was writing these shows, it was blah, blah, blah, isn't Boris Yeltsin a drunk? The second you hear the name, you know the punch line. It used to amaze my girlfriend. We'd watch Jay Leno together. His monologue is always 15 jokes and I would give exactly the punch line to 10 of the 15 and, of the other five, my punch line would be better. I'd have to remind myself this is my life — not just my

passion, but my job from 9 to 5.

I read the people we discussed a moment ago: Krauthammer, Prager, Sowell. But other people don't. They don't know as much as I know, although that doesn't mean they're not smart. I think of my sis-

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ter — I don't want to insult her — but as a typical liberal in where her beliefs come from. When she says, "I'm for Obama," what does she base it on? She gets up in the morning and turns on "The Today Show." She'll walk around getting ready for work, taking out her clothes, and then she hears a segment, then takes her shower and then more blah, blah, blah, blah. Then she goes to work. And at work, she discusses work and perhaps some gossip and maybe some politics if it's almost election day. How deeply does she discuss it? — with people just as uninformed as she is, not because they're stupid or wouldn't choose to be informed if they could be, but this isn't their lives.

So the typical comedian is dictated to in what he can do by what his people know. If he attempts a joke about the Patriot Act, it has to be on the surface. It has to be conventional wisdom as promoted by

the leftists in the media. So any joke about the Patriot Act has to be about how it steals our rights. If the typical comedian goes any deeper, it requires explanation, which isn't funny. He'd be giving a lecture.

**Mr. Quick:** Is that why so few comics are conservative?

**Mr. Sayet:** I don't think so few are conservative in their personal beliefs. Fewer comics are conservative, but not as few as we are lead to believe. But fewer are, and part of the reason is that conservatism takes intelligence. It takes recognizing that some things are worth conserving. And knowing what those things are takes an understanding of our heritage — all these things liberalism doesn't take.

**L**IBERALISM IS the Utopia fantasy. It requires niceness and caring, and it doesn't matter what you care about. It doesn't even matter if you're actually nice. But "Make love, not war"? And now I want to explain why we need to make war, not love? I have to explain why a truly unpleasant act is required. A maturity of intellect is required, but not possessed, by most people who do what I do for a living. What we do is, we play. It's even



**Evan Sayet**

called play: Bruce Springsteen plays the guitar, Alec Baldwin goes to New York and performs in a play. Susan Sarandon plays a grown-up in a movie. Last week Bill Maher was playing Detroit.

**S**econd, the only time you're actually heard from in this profession is when you succeed. When they interview Sean Penn, it's because Sean Penn has succeeded. Another actor in town might be a conservative but hasn't succeeded and you don't hear his voice.

In our profession, unlike any other profession, you succeed at a very young age. You know, Brittny Spears was a child actress on the Disney Channel when grown-ups were putting make-up on her and saying, "Can I get you a Pepsi, Ms. Spears?" Bruce Springsteen? To be the CEO in any other profession, you start at an entry level, take orders from people who know more, you screw up and get fired and learn lessons till maybe after 20, 30, or 40 years of learning, perfecting, and honing your craft, you're the boss. Bruce Springsteen has been "The Boss" since he was 17 years old. Bob Costas has a line I love: "They come to prominence before they come to maturity."

**Mr. Quick:** Quick, young stardom also happens in sports.

**Mr. Sayet:** Yes, and there's an interesting point about sports. Two professions are wholly childish and wholly identified with the left: academia, where you remain in school forever, and celebrity. Yet even within these two worlds there are sub-groups that vote Republican. In academia, it's the hard sciences — chemistry professors and engineers. In celebrity, it's the athletes who are far more likely to be Republican. The reason is that, in

both these fields, B.S. doesn't work.

No matter how eloquently you write your dissertation about two chemicals that didn't react, arguing beautifully that it's because the phosphorous hates black people,

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***The neo-liberals  
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it's meaningless. In sports, you catch the ball or drop the ball, cross the end zone or don't cross it, the ball goes through the upright or into the hoop or the goal or it doesn't — no matter how eloquently you make excuses for your failures. And you'll find Republicans in these professions where B.S. is meaningless.

Farmers are Republicans. Why? Because you do the work and the crop grows or it doesn't grow, and it doesn't matter how eloquently you explain that the ground is misogynist. The crop either grows or it doesn't. But because they're always wrong, liberals thrive only in wholly subjective professions that are, therefore, open to fudging reality. Is Susan Sarandon a good actress? Who's to say? Is Tom Brady a good quarterback? Look at the statistics.

**Mr. Quick:** If the hard sciences are a natural home for Republicans, what about global warming?

**Mr. Sayet:** Yes — although I think we are ultimately winning that one. I see a pattern there: the immediate news story becomes the "truth" because the disseminators of mass information are so overwhelmingly in the pocket of the left. Their truth becomes the conventional wisdom, but then, slowly, over time, the less powerful media gets the real story out. Then that big "truth" is less and less believed. For example: the media first said Cindy Sheehan [*a formerly prominent opponent of Iraqi liberation — editor*] was a lovely, heart-broken, grieving mother who only wanted to meet the president once, just once — this heartless bastard, George Bush. Then slowly, the Internet and talk radio put out the facts: that Sheehan was a lunatic, estranged from her son, that her son supported the war, that she actually had met the president at the president's behest. The Internet and talk radio continue to put out the inconvenient truths about global warming and over time the truth that global warming is a fraud is, I think, winning out.

**Mr. Quick:** How much do you, a conservative comic, feel like the old song: "I'm a Lonely Little Petunia in an Onion Patch"?

**Mr. Sayet:** Well, I have wholly removed myself from that onion patch. I have nothing whatsoever to do with Hollywood these days except at social gatherings or perhaps if a friend of mine is in a movie, I will go to support him. But as for looking for a job and being there day-to-day, I have no need to query the producers of "Queer Eye for the Straight Guy" 'cause I need the income.

I originally moved here, 3,000 miles from home, because it's an industry town and I was in that industry. But today, it would make

more sense for me to live in Washington, D.C., near the more-than-conservative thought industry, than in Hollywood. I "fourwall" my shows, so I really don't need the club owner's permission to work.

Not everyone in this town agrees with the leftists. But part of the problem is that it just makes more business sense not to make it clear, and not to employ a conservative. Say there are five comedians on at the Improv Comedy Club. If they put a conservative on the show, and if Bill Maher is one of those comedians, he's going to storm out of the room and yell at Bud Freeman "How dare you put that Nazi on the stage? I'll never work here again."

So it's just simply easier not to put that Nazi on the stage. If you put a conservative in a movie, Susan Sarandon might march off the set. They truly hate us.

We think they're stupid; they think we're evil. We think they're stupid because they don't discriminate between fact and fiction, right and wrong, good and evil, moral and immoral. Whether something succeeds or fails. They are indiscriminate. They think we're evil because we *do* discriminate, and discriminating thought is a hate crime to the left. I can work with people I consider stupid as long as they are competent in their field. But I couldn't work with someone I think is evil. They can't work with us because they consider us evil. So, for people making movies in Hollywood, whether or not they themselves are leftist, it's easier to make leftists' movies. If they want Susan Sarandon or Sean Penn to star, Springsteen to do the song, or Steven Spielberg to direct, it better not be pro-American, pro-Christian, pro-Jewish, or anti-Muslim.

**Mr. Quick:** And yet, the few con-

servative movies that come out or movies with a conservative theme make more money.

**Mr. Sayet:** Yes, those that portray conservative values, especially when they are not preachy. What we — the rest of us Americans — don't want to go see, in fact have stopped going to see, are movies that intentionally attack us.

But they hate us, and they see everything as part of this war. So they won't make jokes about Barack Obama. They don't want to weaken his power which would be shooting themselves in the foot. They are incapable of laughing at themselves; they're incapable of self-judgment. It is all-out war — this is from David Horowitz: everything is for the revolution, everything. The text books they write are not based on truth or fact. They are based on agenda. Howard Zinn admitted this. Zinn wrote the American history text book most assigned to our children in our schools, *A People's History of the United States*. He said objectivity is undesirable. It gets in the way of my social agenda.

**Mr. Quick:** Actress Morgan Brittany tells about doing a play with Ed Asner. They got along fabulously until she let slip she was conservative. He hasn't spoken to her since

**Mr. Sayet:** They hate us because we get in the way of their Utopian vision. My book which, I swear, will some day be finished, originally was going to be called *Regurgitating the Apple: How Modern Liberals 'Think,'* with think in quotation marks because they don't think. They consider rational and moral thought to be a hate crime. They believe that anything you see as truth, anything that you believe, is so tainted by your bigotries that the only way not to be a bigot is not to think and to have no beliefs or val-

ues. Regurgitating the apple is from when mankind lost Paradise. We ate the apple and gained knowledge of right and wrong. I now call them the neo-liberals. They believe that if we could just regurgitate the apple, give up all knowledge of right and wrong, we would return to innocence. And so, by being knowledgeable, by being moral, by being just, by being good, by seeking the better, you are standing in the way. You are almost the anti-Christ by being intelligent because you are standing in the way of their Utopia. This is why John Lennon said imagine there were no countries. He didn't say imagine all countries being democracies; he didn't say imagine no Nazi Germanies. He said imagine *no* countries. And the key point he makes, the key line, is imagine a time when everything that mankind believes in has been so devalued that there's "nothing left to kill or die for." That's when we'll reach this Utopia.

To read more from Evan Sayet or to learn where he will be appearing, visit: [www.evansayet.com](http://www.evansayet.com) CPR



**Conservative talk host Sean Hannity**

**'The immediate news story ... becomes the conventional wisdom. But then, slowly, over time, the less powerful media gets the real story out.'**



# First Things

## The proper mode for Darwin's birthday

by John Kurzweil

Charles Darwin's recent 200th birthday was celebrated in the usual triumphalist mode: "Every true scientist at work today is in fact a Darwinian," wrote *San Francisco Chronicle* Science Editor David Perlman. But besides the evident passion to declare the question closed, the point is clearly to capture science's good reputation for "Darwinians" simply by equating one with the other. Any such equation, however, faces considerable obstacles.

First, science must be open to, not closed against, *all* observations about objects under study. "Data is gathered by careful observation of the phenomenon being studied," says the *Columbia Encyclopedia*, describing the "first step" in the "scientific method." But Mr. Perlman's "true scientist" *rejects* observations contrary to the Darwinian paradigm, which particularly aims to exclude religion. As U.C. Irvine evolutionary biologist Francisco J. Ayala (quoted in January's *Scientific American*) wrote in 2007: "Darwin completed the Copernician Revolution by drawing out for biology the notion of nature as a lawful system of matter in motion that human reason can explain *without recourse to supernatural agencies.*" (*emphasis added*)

But where in the world of "careful observation" is it wrong to see the vast evidence that God created nature? Heinz Pagels, a confirmed

"Darwinian," wrote (in *The Dreams of Reason*) that the "architecture of the universe is indeed built according to invisible universal rules." He cited "the quantum and relativity theory, the laws of chemical combination and molecular structure, the rules that govern protein synthesis and how organisms are made," concluding that "No human mind could have arranged for any message so flawlessly coherent, so strangely imaginative ...." But within a few lines, Mr. Pagels dismisses his own observations' obvious implications, listlessly stating that "there is no scientific evidence for a Creator of the natural world, no evidence for a will or purpose that goes beyond the known laws of nature."

Darwinians employ similar "reasoning" to meet an avalanche of relevant "observations" tending to undermine their conclusions (from the fossil record, for instance). Darwin himself began the tradition of arbitrarily excluding inconvenient observations, writing to geologist Charles Lyell that, "if I were convinced" that "the theory of natural selection" required supernatural intervention, "I would reject it as rubbish .... I would give nothing for the theory ... if it requires miraculous additions at any one stage of descent." January's *Scientific American* continues the tradition, advising readers that "the goal is ...

to ensure that evolution is taught properly [in public schools] — without qualifiers such as 'only a theory' and unaccompanied by specious 'evidence against evolution.'" This, Mr. Perlman, is not science. It is prejudice.

The National Academy of Sciences, in a Supreme Court brief, defined "the most basic characteristic of science" as "reliance upon naturalistic explanations" for everything. Science, that is, equates to agreeing with the Academy's closed view of it. Dissent is equated with irrationality; rationality with agreement, a stance commonly adopted by closed, self-validating systems. "The Freudian," C. S. Lewis wrote in his book *Miracles*, "proves that all thoughts are merely due to complexes except the thoughts which constitute this proof itself. The Marxist proves that all thoughts result from class conditioning — except the thought he is thinking while he says this."

Actually, it would be extremely odd were establishment voices to talk any other way. A real interest in truth would be wildly out of step with the relativism of the times. It would be the one area in which liberals showed any concern about truth except to disparage it, along with any idea that it should be sought out as a guide for life. Mr. Perlman, that is, has found exactly the right mode for celebrating Darwin's birthday. *CPR*

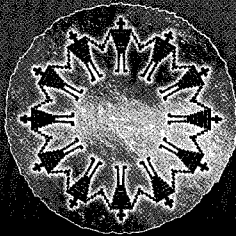
*John Kurzweil is CPR's editor.*

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